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M E M O I R S

OF THE COURT OF

A U G U S T U S.

By THOMAS BLACKWELL, J. U. D.

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UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

V O L. II.

*Quæ enim tanta Gravitas ? quæ tanta Constantia,
Magnitudo Animi, Probitas, Fides; quæ tam excellens
in omni genere VIRTUS in ullis fuit, ut sint cum
Majoribus nostris comparanda ?* CICERO.

B A S I L:

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MDCCXCIV.

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BY THOMAS BLACKWELL, LL.D.

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UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN



One copy of this volume is in the
possession of the British Museum, which
in some cases varies in the text, in the
Cicero.

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M.DCCCXIV.

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

COURT OF AUGUSTUS.

B O O K I V.

AS *Julius Cæsar* owed his Grandeur to the Populace and Army, that is, to the most worthless Party in the Common-wealth, and had ingratiated himself with his Creatures by all manner of Indulgences¹, his being killed as a *Tyrant* was the greatest Misfortune that could befall them. In return for their Services, he had bestowed Honors and Commands upon them, often irregular in themselves, and for the most part, before the time permitted by the Laws. These sacred Bonds of Society he broke through at pleasure; and after the Defeat of the young Pompeys, had acquired a sovereign Contempt of every thing that remained uneffaced of the Roman Republic. The Army was his Pride, and his Trust was in the *veteran Officers*. These, though of the Dregs of the People, or even Foreigners,

¹ Tum reorum aut obaratorum, aut prodigæ juventutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat (Cæsar).

Sueton. in Julio, § 27.

Cæsar qui solet infimorum hominum amicitias sibi qualibet impensâ adjungere.

Cæc. ad Cicer. Ep.

Gauls and Germans ², he had thrust into the Lands and Honors of the murdered Nobility ³.

At the first News of his Death, the Partners in his Guilt were in the utmost Consternation, and expected every one the same Treatment with their Master; but they had time to recover from their Fright by the gentle Procedure of the Friends to Liberty. As soon as the Blow was struck in the Senate-house, M. Brutus stepping forward, called aloud upon *Tullius Cicero*, and essayed to make a Speech to the *Senate*: But the Members were so terrified, that not one of them would stay to hear him; such a Panic had seized them, that several were crushed to death in pressing through the Doors of the Senate-house. *Brutus* therefore and *Cassius*, with the *Band of Patriots*, followed out to the Street; and putting a Cap, the Ensign of *Freedom*, upon the top of a Lance, with their Swords still in their Hands, they proclaimed Liberty to the Romans: they never doubted but the People would rouse at the *Sound*, rush into the *Forum*, resume their high-valued Rights, and

² Redeo ad Tebassos, Scæves, Francones: hos tu existimas confidere se illa habituros stantibus nobis? — Pacis isti scilicet amatores, ac non potius latrocinii auctores.

Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. XIV. Ep. 10.

³ Discrucior Sextulii fundum a verberone *Curtelio* possideri: quod cum dico, de *zoto genere* dico. Ibid. Ep. 6.

Verfor in naufragiis & bonorum direptionibus; et video (optimatūm) fortunas dissipari. Id. ad Nigid. Figul.

applaud them as their *Deliverers*. But the *pulling down of a Tyrant* is too mighty a Thought to find easy admittance into vulgar Minds; and in this Case was attended with too many *startling Circumstances*, to leave them the full exercise of their Reason, or the ability of distinguishing their Benefactors: A general Terror had seized the City at the first rumor, as if they had expected a Massacre. The Courts were deserted, the Markets emptied, the Shops were shut up; every body ran home, and barricaded their Doors, as if an Enemy had mastered the Walls.

Under this Disappointment, *Brutus* and his *Friends* resolved for their Security to betake themselves to the *Capitol*, and wait what Event the Night might produce in their favor; making no question but the Senate would zealously declare for them, when its Members should recover their Spirits, and venture to hold an Assembly. But it was not the same Meeting it was wont to be.

That *grand Council*, and indeed every Branch of the *Common-wealth**, had been either corrupted by *Julius Cæsar*; or, whom it was not in his power secretly to corrupt, he had openly destroyed and put to the Sword. This had made a lamentable Change both upon the Appearance and Substance of the Roman State. One of their chief

* Quid est enim non ita affectum, ut id non *deletum* extinctumque esse fateare? Circumspice omnia membra Reip. quæ notissima tibi sunt, nullum profecto reperies quod non fractum debilitatumque sit.

Cicer. Ep. ad Luceium.

Authors affirms, ' That the *high Spirit* of the
 ' ancient Commonwealth, and all the Wonders
 ' performed under the Consular-Government, were
 ' owing to the Virtue and Vigor of a *few* great
 ' Men, who animated their Councils and conduct-
 ' ed their Enterprises.' What a dismal Reverse
 then, must the Loss not of a *few*, but of almost
all the great Men, Friends to the Constitution,
 make upon that once august Assembly, the Senate
 of Rome? For now, the best and bravest of its
 Members had either fallen in the Field fighting for
 their Liberties', or had afterwards fallen upon
 their Swords when stript of them'; and the thin
 Residue of these Citizens were then in exile by
 the Usurper. Yet the greater Part of those who
 bore the Name of *Senator*, having still a warm
 side to the better Party, would have acted with
 Vigor, if another Consideration had not tied up
 their Hands.

Cæsar, after his Usurpation, when the Bustle
 of his Triumphs was over, soon grew weary of

—Cæsar,

In plebem vetat ire manus, monstratque Senatum,
 Scit cruor Imperii qui sit, quæ viscera legum;
 Unde petat Romam—permista secundo
 Ordine nobilitas, venerandaque corpora ferro
 Urgentur: cædunt *Lepidos*, cæduntque *Metellos*,
Corvinosque simul *Torquataque* nomina, Legum
 Sæpe duces, summosque hominum.—

Lucan. Lib. VII.

' Scipio, Cato, Petreius, &c.

Rome. The Faces of so many Men of the first Families, whose Fathers, Brothers, or dearest Friends he had put to death, were troublesome Objects; the Spirit discovered by the two Tribunes *Flavius* and *Marullus*, in punishing those who had put *Crowns* upon his Statues, piqued him more than the thing was worth: and the ill Success of his chief Tool. *M. Antony's* Attempt at the *Lupercal Games*, to crown him *King of Rome*, as if by Command of the People, gave him a disgust at the whole City. He had thoughts of removing to ancient *Troy*, and draining *Rome* of its Wealth and Splendor, by making the other the *Seat of the Empire*. At last he resolved to leave the Town, and return to his favorite Exercise War: first to chastise the *Barbarians*, who during the civil Contest had made Incursions into *Macedon*, and to conquer that wide Country (now the hereditary *Austrian* Dominions) called by the Romans the upper and lower *Pannonias*,) from thence he was to march Eastward, pass the *Hellepont*, avenge the Death of his old Friend *M. Crassus* upon the *Parthians*, and wipe off the Ignominy of that fatal Defeat. He was within a few days of his Departure; and to gratify as many of his Dependents as possible, he had not only put them into the Offices regularly vacant at that time, but contrary to *Law* and *Practice*, he had both multiplied these Offices, and named Successors to every honor in the Commonwealth, some for two, some for three, and some for five Years

to come⁷. *P. Dolabella*, though a very young Man, was, upon the Merit of having followed him in the civil War, and fought in every Battle against his Country, to succeed to the high Office of Consul for the remaining part of the current Year. After that *A. Hirtius*, a young Man too, but one of his chief Officers, and *C. Vibius Pansa*, raised from a Plebeian, were to be honored with that supreme Dignity. *C. Trebonius* (the same who took *Antony* aside, and kept him in discourse without, until his Friends should execute their great Design in the Senate-house) was *Proconsul* in the *lesser Asia*: *Decimus Brutus* (the Conqueror of *Marfeilles* in a bad Cause) governed the *nearer*, and *M. Lepidus*, Master of the Horse, the *farther* Gaul: these two were to succeed *Hirtius* and *Pansa* in the Consulship; and *M. Brutus* and *C. Cassius*, being in the usual Progress of Power, *Town-retors*, were each to have Provinces at the Expiration of their Office: *Brutus* was to have *Macedon*, and *Cassius* *Syria*. These were the highest Dignities, and Commands of the greatest Consequence in the Empire. Some of the Men who possessed them, or who were destined to fill them, were ill-affected to the *Cause of Liberty*, and at the same time capable of doing great mischief: These were neither to be made desperate, by being stript of their Places, nor was the Public to be deprived of the Services of its *best Friends*, who were

⁷ Eadem licentiâ, spreto patrio more, Magistratus in plures annos ordinavit.

Sueton. in. Jul. §. 76.

intermixed with them. This Consideration, joined to the Apprehensions they were under from the *Veterans*, (the constant Terror of free States) and from the Troops which *L. Lepidus*, the Dictator's Lieutenant, commanded in the Neighbourhood of the City, *dispirited* the Senators, and made the Chiefs of the Republic act with more Coolness than the great Conjunction required.

When the Design of restoring the Roman Commonwealth to Liberty was first laid, it was proposed, 'that *Marc Antony* then Consul with *Julius Cæsar*, and a chief Instrument in all his Wickedness, should partake of the Fate of his Patron; that their Bodies should be dragged into the *Tiber*, their Estates forfeited, and all Transactions under the Usurpation rescinded.' But the mild *Brutus* opposed the killing of *Antony*, saying, 'It was only the *Tyrant* they must destroy; when he was gone, and the Head lopped off, the *Tyranny* would drop of its own accord:' and while *Antony* was possessed of the sovereign Authority, as Consul, and *Lepidus*, a Man of the same Stamp, Master of the Horse, it was not possible to execute the subsequent Measures. Yet the wisest Men thought this to be an *irreparable* Omission, and the real Ground-work of all the Disorders and Calamities that soon after distracted the unhappy Republic, and again robbed it of its newly recovered Liberty. The Steps through which this wicked Attempt was conducted, and by which the Laws were again overturned, and the Remains of the *best Blood in Rome* spilt in

vain in their Defence, make the melancholy Subject of this Book.

Marc Antony was of a very noble and ancient Family; but owed his Advancement wholly to *Cæsar*. He was his Kinsman, and a peculiar Favorite, being just such a Person as *Julius* wished, indigent, debauched, and daring. With a good Education he might have proved no Discredit to his Ancestors, nor Curse to the Common-wealth; but he had the Misfortune to fall early into the very worst Hands, and associate with the Men of the most odious Characters in Rome; *Lentulus Sura*, who was strangled for the *Catiline* Conspiracy, was his Father-in-law; *C. Curio* his Tutor and Lover in the worst Sense; the abandoned *Clodius*, and lewd *Gabinus* (whom he accompanied upon his lawless *Egyptian* Expedition) were his dearest Companions. He had accordingly, when very young, run into such an extravagant Expense, that he was declared *bankrupt*, forced to abscond for some time, and to take infamous Methods for his Sustenance. He was of a large Stature, a bold manly Aspect, — was very noisy in his Pleasures, and buffoonish in his Mirth. The common Soldiers, with whom he drank and joked, admired him, and his other Talents no less recommended him to his General. He had acquitted himself gallantly (if Gallantry can be shown in Wickedness) on many great Occasions; but *Cæsar* gave him the grand Proof of his Confidence, at the fatal Battle of *Pharsalia*; for when the deciding Stroke was to be struck between

him and the great Pompey, the Command of the left Wing of the *Cæsareans* was given to M. Antony. He continued to heap Honors upon him afterwards, without Intermision, (excepting one Misunderstanding, which soon passed over) and had chosen him for this Year to be his Colleague in the Consulship.

When this trusty Friend of *Cæsar's* perceived what they were about in the *Senate-house*, being very conscious of his own Deserts, he ran terrified home, and disguised himself in the Habit of a Slave, making no doubt but he would be searched for, and if apprehended, certainly put to death. But when, to his no small Surprise, he heard, that *Brutus* and his *Friends* were taking no more Lives, nor doing any violent thing whatsoever, he first crept out of his lurking Hole, and next, with great Diffidence, re-assumed the *Ensigns of Consul*. However, being still apprehensive of the Danger, which threatened him and all who had dipped in *Cæsar's Usurpation*, had they had to do with Men of other Dispositions and Designs than that Body of Senators united in the Cause of Liberty, he could not take rest until he was in better terms with them. He therefore sent an honorable Message to these great Men, desiring them to come down, with full Assurance of *Consular Protection*: They demurred a little; and the two first Days of their recovered Liberty were spent in Negociation, in sending and receiving Proposals: He then went himself to the *Capitol*, and sent up his own Son, and the

Master of Horfe's Son, the young *Lepidus*, as Hostages for the Security of *Brutus* and his *Friends*. They came down, — and were received with Acclamations of Joy by the *People*, and with Tears of Gratitude by the most *illustrious Citizens* of Rome. They proceeded from the *Capitol* to the *Forum*, where they held the first *free Meeting* it had seen for Years, and M. Brutus was placed upon the *Rostrum*. He from thence made a Speech to the *People*, in his own Character: It was animated with the Love of Liberty; it was full of disinterested Goodness; and conceived in such elegant Terms, and such a Nobleness of Expression as commanded Admiration, and drew reiterated Shouts of Applause*.

The day before, while the Messages were passing, M. Tullius Cicero, no nominal Patriot, but a constant Friend to the real Interests of Rome, had joined the Heroes in the Capitol, and earnestly pressed *Brutus* and *Cassius*. ‘ That they as
 ‘ Pretors, without regard to the Consuls *Antony*
 ‘ and *Dolabella*, whose Inclinations they knew,
 ‘ should forthwith call the Senate to the *Capitol*,
 ‘ take the whole State of the Republic into their
 ‘ Consideration, pass the necessary Decrees, reform
 ‘ the irregular Magistracies, and resettle their
 ‘ Liberty upon lasting Foundations;’ and happy

* Brutus noster misit ad me orationem suam habitam in concione Capitolina — est autem oratio scripta elegantissime, sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ultra.

Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. XV. Ep. 1.

had it been for *them* and for *Rome* that they had followed his Advice. But *Brutus* wishing to have every thing done in the most *legal* and *unexceptionable* manner, to show that nothing but *Necessity* had driven the Friends of Liberty to use Violence against its Foe, chose rather, if possible, to act in concert with the Consuls, *such as they were*. From the *Forum* therefore, they went to the Temple of the Earth, the usual Place of meeting.

When the *Senate* was set, Cicero, one of the oldest Consulars, stood up, and made a Speech worthy of his Integrity and Eloquence. He thanked the Gods that he had lived to see the Day when Liberty again dawned upon the Republic; he spoke of the restored *Majesty* of the Laws, of the *Authority* of the Senate, and of the *Privileges* of the People, with a Dignity becoming the Subject: and then turning to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he saluted them *Deliverers* of Their Country; and promised (what has been well performed) *Immortality* to their Names, while there remained any Memory of the Glory or Grandeur of Rome.

After this, to quiet Men's Minds, and prevent farther Disorders, he proposed to imitate the celebrated *Athenian* 'Αμνηστία, or Act of Oblivion, and decree *Indemnity*, for what was past on all sides, during the civil War; which was unanimously agreed to. He next moved, that *Honors* and *Provinces* should be decreed to those Patriots who had destroyed the haughty Oppressor, and rescued the sinking Republic; which likewise met with universal Approbation. It was lastly proposed, I

think by *Calpurnius Piso*, a very different Man, to confirm all Grants made by *Cæsar*, and ratify all the public Acts of his Government. This was a Matter of the very last Importance. To give a legal Sanction to the Deeds of a *Tyrant* struck at the Root of their Liberties: But whether in that hurry, and agitation of Men's Spirits, they were not aware of its weighty Consequences; or whether a sincere Desire of Peace and future Concord blinded them, it is no less amazing than true, that *M. Brutus* and all his Friends assented to the Proposal. Perhaps they thought by that means to gain *Cæsar's* Creatures, and fix them to the Interests of the Common-wealth, while they held their Honors and Estates by the same Act of the Senate, that secured and rewarded the Asserters of its Liberty. But that very Clause proved in the end the Ruin of it and them, as we shall see afterwards.

Mean time, the Senate broke up; and *Antony* the Consul, now sure of Life and Dignity, to show a sincere Reconciliation, invited *Cassius* to dine with him: *Brutus* went home with his Brother-in-law *M. Lepidus*, and the rest with their several Friends of the other Party. At Dinner talking over the grand Enterprize, as usually happens, *Antony* with a Smile asked his Guest, whether he had not then a Dagger concealed under his Robe? Yes, said *Cassius*, a trusty one, if you have any Designs upon the public Liberty.

Thus things seemed pretty quiet, for the

present', and some Hope appeared of Respite from the Miseries into which the boundless Ambition of one Citizen had for the space of six Years plunged the *Roman* Empire: But Men of no Principles, and embarked in bad Designs, having nothing to trust in, but their own Industry, are ever more vigilant than the good and worthy, who are apt to turn secure, through confidence in their Cause and conscious Integrity.

L. Calpurnius Piso, a Man who had passed through all the Honors of his Country without other Recommendation than the *Antiquity* of his Family, was *Cæsar's* Father-in-law; and by a common Infirmary, loved his ill-got Grandeur, though he did not care that any one should succeed to it. He insisted to have a public funeral Solemnity for the *perpetual* Dictator; and raised great dissension among the Fathers by the Motion. C. Cassius swelled with Indignation at the Proposal, vehemently opposed it, and was seconded by many of the old staunch Republicans. — But the *good* and *unsuspicious* Brutus went but too easily into it; as indeed it was difficult to foresee the Improvement that was made of it.

When the Morn appointed for the Solemnity was come, *Antony* (who took the Management of the Funeral) was careful to have the Corpse exposed in the most magnificent manner. The funeral Pile was reared near the *Julian* Monument, in the *Campus martius*; but in the very *Forum*, just

⁹ Anno U. C. 709.

by the *Rostra*, there was a kind of Chapel erected, after the Model of the Temple which *Cæsar* had built to *Parent-Venus*¹. It was gilt all over, and within it stood a Couch of Ivory, or Bed of State, on which the Corpse was laid in the same Robe which *Cæsar* wore at his death, with a Trophy at his Head, and a Covering of Purple and Cloth of Gold thrown over the Couch. In this State lay the dead *Cæsar*, while the funeral Games were performing; which was an Opportunity not to be omitted of raising Envy among the Multitude, and Commiseration of their Patron. For this purpose, they adapted to his Fate some theatrical Speeches taken from a Tragedy of *Pacuvius*, called *Ajax*, or the *Judgment of the Arms*:

*Was it for this I saved them — that they might
Live, and destroy me —²?*

and some other things of the same sort from the *Electra* of old *Acilius*. But the chief Actor in this Farce was Antony himself.

It was customary among the *Romans*, to recount the Perfections of a great Man at his Death, as an Incentive to Virtue among the surviving. The *Consul* undertook to perform that Duty to the dead *Cæsar*. ‘His high Qualities, he said, and glorious Deeds were too many, and too far above the common Pitch, to have Justice done them in a passing Speech: But taking first the Decree of

¹ *Veneri Genetrici.*

² *Men’ me servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?*

‘ the Senate , in which *divine Honors* had been
‘ decreed to the Dictator, he read it in the hear-
‘ ing of the People ’. — Then taking the Form of
‘ the Oath which they had sworn, *to hold his Per-*
‘ *son sacred*, and *keep it inviolate*, he recited it in
‘ the same manner;’ he did not, we may suppose,
acquaint the People, that both the Decree and
the Oath had been extorted by an *armed Usurper*,
the Curse of *Rome* and Scourge of the *Empire*; or
that *these* were some of the many infamous Marks
of the *Roman Slavery*: on the contrary, while he
was reading them, he seemed by the melancholy
Tone of his Voice, — by the Gestures of his
Hands, and mournful Looks to the dead Body,
to compare these extraordinary Honors with its
present Condition; and as he went on, perceiving
the People to be attentive, and some Emotion
appear in their Countenances, he began to raise
his Voice, and mix some alternate Strokes of *In-*
dignation and *Pity* with his Praise: at last, as the
Passion increased, turning to the Couch, he pulled
off the gorgeous Covering, and discovered the
Body lying in the Robe, all torn and bloody, in
which *Cæsar* had been killed; and pointing some-
times to the mangled Coarse, and then to the Gar-
ment stained with Gore, he wrought the Multi-
tude up to such a Fury, that instead of carrying
the Body out of the City to the *Campus martius*,

³ C. *Suetonius* says it was recited by the public Crier,
and that *Antony* added a very few Words; but other
Authors give a different account, and particularly *Cicero*
in the second *Philippic*.

where the Pile was prepared, they suddenly laid hold of the Tables and Benches of the several Tribunals in the *Forum*, and tearing them in pieces, with whatever combustible thing came in their way, they huddled some Faggots together, reared a tumultuary Pile upon the Spot, and burnt the Body sacrilegiously in the midst of the *Forum*.

The Enthusiasm seemed to catch with the flame; for the *Consular*-Guards and *public Servants* joining the Rabble, threw their Arms and Liveries into the burning Pile; and the *Women*, seized with the same Spirit, stripped off their Ornaments, and the Clothes and Trinkets of their Children, to burn them with their departed Favorite. In the heat of their Rage some of the Mob lighted Torches at the Pile, and ran to the Houses of the Senators who had delivered them from the Tyrant, with an Intention to have set them on Fire: But as great Disorders had formerly happened in *Rome* on such occasions, they were upon their guard, and the Ruffians were repulsed; whilst *Antony* lost the little Reputation he had lately gained with the Senate: for though it was a Crew of Slaves and mean People who managed the riotous Funeral, and made the Attempt upon the Authors of their Freedom, yet it was perfectly understood who directed it, and to what end the whole of such Management tended.

Tyrants and Traitors, if they have been what their Flatterers call *magnificent*, that is *profuse*; if they lavish in Luxury what they rapaciously extort,

extort, never fail of being gracious with the Commonalty, and regretted by the worthless and indigent. Even *Nero himself* was, in this way, extremely popular; he was sadly mourned by the *Roman Mob*, and earnestly wished for after his Decease. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that the *Females* showed such Concern at the Funerals of the Dictator; a Man noted for Intrigue and Gallantry. They had done the same at his Predecessor *L. Sylla's* Interment, (a Person much of the same Character) and particularly brought such a Quantity of Perfumes, Spiceries, and precious Incense, that an Image was made of them, representing *Sylla*, and another in the Shape of a *Lictor*, to be burnt along with him. But the true Value of such Popularity was remarkably seen, when *Clodius*, the worst of Mankind, and an Instrument of this same *Cæsar*, was killed by the brave *T. Annius Milo*: His Body was likewise exposed to public View; and as the *Senate* was thought to rejoice at the Removal of such a Pest from the Common-wealth, the enraged Mob took up the Body, hurried it to the very Door of the *Senate-house*, and there dressed up his Pile in a frantic manner: the *Senate-house* was set on fire, and the adjoining *Porcian Portico* was burnt to the Ground; and to complete the Resemblance, some of his old Mercenaries ran with lighted Torches to the Houses of *Milo* and *Lepidus* his noted Opposers, and met with the same Reception as the *Cæsarean Incendiaries*.

One peculiar Circumstance is recorded of the latter, that, among all the Dregs of the People, none deplored the Fate of *Julius* more loudly nor pertinaciously, than a Nation no less noted then as now, the Jews dwelling at *Rome* *. They assembled many Nights together, and kept a grievous *howling* about his Monument, according to their manner of mourning for the dead. It is difficult to assign a Reason for this Partiality, to the Ravager of Nations. Perhaps their *slavish Temper*, which had showed itself very early, and indeed through all the Periods of their State, might incline them to bewail the Death of a Master: for, in effect, a *Jew* could no more love a *free State*, than a *Syrian* or a *Parthian*, or a Native of modern Countries inured to Slavery. To *such Liberty* looks dreadful; and they can no more bear the *Effulgence* of — the Goddess of the fearless Eye⁵ than an ancient *Cappadocian*. Or perhaps the *Jews* superstitiously looked upon *Cæsar* as a Man immediately sent by God to avenge them of Pompey the Great, who had taken *Jerusalem*, looked into, that is polluted the Temple, and settled the Distractions of their Kingdom.

— Vin' tu

* *Curtis Judæis oppedere* — ?

Credat Judæus Apella — non ego.

Judæi — cogemus te — &c.

Horat.

Vide etiam *Juvenalem*, & *Cl. Rut. Numatiani Itinerarium*, vers. 381.

⁵ Mr. Thomson.

But *Cæsar* had very different *Mourners* to perpetuate his Memory: for, encouraged by his Example, and by the high Dignity of the Consulship, M. Antony took up the wicked Design of imitating his Master, and again overturning the *Commonwealth*⁶. Its Establishment he dreaded above all things; not only as it was a Bar to his Ambition, but being equally profuse as rapacious, all he had got under *Cæsar* was squandered, and he was plunged both in Debt and Debauchery⁷: Besides that, the little regard he paid himself to the Laws, and to the *Act of Indemnity*, made him apprehend others might do the same, and one day or other might call him to account for what was past. He knew that his Conduct in the *Tribuneship* had furnished *Cæsar* with a poor Pretence indeed, but the chief one he had for the *civil War*: he was conscious of the Blood he had inhumanly shed during

⁶ Αντωνιος δὲ — ἐπὶ τὴν τῷ Καίσαρος ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος προσήκον ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προπεπονημένοις αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεπείησε διαδόχον.

Πλουτάρχ. Αντωνιος.

⁷ At an Interview of the greatest General and Statesman in Rome, Pompey the great, and M. Cicero, they had a Speech made by Antony in their hands, a few days before the Consular Elections. It was a Libel upon Pompey from his tenderest Youth; invidious Complaints of Citizens condemned; and high Menaces of Redress by Arms. At which Pompey asked, Quid censes, aiebat, facturum esse ipsum (Cæsarem) si in possessione Reip. venerit, cum hæc Quæstor ejus, infirmus atque inops audeat dicere?

Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. VII. Ep. 8.

the course of that Calamity^{*}; and could but ill answer for the Sums of Money he had seized, and Estates he had invaded under the Usurpation. Neither could he possibly have forgot his late Attempt to make *Cæsar a King in Rome*, contrary to the fundamental Law of the State. But being in want of *Money*, and of some sort of Title to *Troops* and *Provinces* after the Expiration of his Consulship, there was a necessity of his being in better terms with the Senate, whom he had highly provoked by his Encomium upon their *Enemy*, and by instigating the Populace against their *Friends*. For this end he was obliged to assume another Character, and take up a new Conduct, which he did very artfully for a while, and at last found means to persuade them *he was sincere*.

There was one *Amatius Herophilus*, a Farrier by Trade, a bold dissembling desperate Fellow, who pretended to be a Grandson of the famous *C. Marius*, the Idol of the Commonalty. This Pretender had gained so much upon the credulous Multitude, as the Descendant and Representative of their Protector, that he was attended by Crowds of them where ever he went; and being insinuating and artful, had arrived at such a Pitch of Popularity, as once to rival it with *Cæsar himself*. *Julius*, to be very gracious with his Friends, and

^{*} Fueras in acie Pharsalica antesignamus. L. Domitium, nobilissimum ac clarissimum virum occideras; multos qui de prælio effugerant, crudelissimè persecutus trucidâras.

Cicer. Philipp. II.

palliate the Effusion of *Patrician blood*, after his Return from the terrible Slaughter at *Munda*, had admitted the whole Populace into his Gardens upon the *Tiber*, to compliment him upon the Conclusion of the civil War. At the same time this false *Marius* took his Station in the next Division; where, to the honor of *Popularity*, there was almost as great a Concourse of the Mob paying Court to him, as to the Dictator'. In short, he grew so powerful, that *Cæsar*, apprehensive of his raising Commotions, found it proper to banish him from *Italy*; not thinking it decent to inflict a severer Punishment upon a Man who was the Darling of that Party, by whose Assistance he had himself risen to all his Grandeur.

Upon the first News of *Cæsar's* Exit, *Amatius* had returned to *Rome*; and to prevent his ever going again into exile, he formed the usual Design of such desperate Ringleaders; — to murder the *Chiefs of the Senate*, as the grand Obstacles that hindered him and his Party from attaining the Power and Wealth they aimed at, and had actually concerted the Measures for putting it in execution. This Design could not be long a Secret among such a Gang as *Amatius's* Confederates. It quickly took air, and afforded Antony such an Opportunity as his own Heart could have wished. He caused *Amatius*

' Quin etiam cum C. Cæsar, Cn. Pompeio adolescente in *Hispaniâ* oppresso, Populum in hortis suis admisisset, proximo intercolumnio, pene pari studio & frequentia salutatus est Herophilus, (*equarius medicus.*)

Valer. Max. Lib. IX. Cap. 15. § 2.

to be apprehended, and by his Authority as Consul, without other Form of Law, put him instantly to death, as a Disturber of the State; and to the equal Surprise and Joy of the Senate, had his Body dragged into the *Tiber*, in the same ignominious manner as the *vilest Malefactor*. It is impossible to express the Rage of the Multitude, or the Hatred they conceived against the *Consul* for this Action: he lost himself with them so entirely, that some of the Senators began to think him in earnest, in the Steps he had been taking for some time to recover their good Opinion, and to make amends for his *Harangue on their Enemy*.

To heighten this Persuasion, he did nothing of moment, without the Advice of the *principal Senators*, whom he called to his House to assist at such Consultations: He not only consented, but had himself moved, to recal the young Sextus Pompey from *Spain*, and re-instate him in the Fortune and Honors of his Father, (whose Memory was dear to the best in Rome) with this Proviso, 'that if *Cæsar* while *Dictator* had sold or otherwise disposed of any Part of *Pompey's* Estate, that the Equivalent should be paid to his Son out of the public Treasury.' After this, to leave no doubt of his being truly changed, and become well-affected to his Country, he had preferred a Law, *For ever to abolish the Dictatorship*, which was now only another Name for a Tyranny, with *Imprecations against the Person who should propose it, and a Price set upon his Head who should receive and give it a*

Sanction: ¹ when in consequence of these preparatory Steps he had so boldly destroyed the *pretended Marius*, the sworn Enemy of the Nobility, they no longer doubted of his Sincerity, but by an unanimous Vote he had the *Thanks of the Senate*, in the most obliging and honorable terms: Even Cicero and Brutus were deceived ²; for, though it was easy to see, that the Motion made in favor of the young *Pompey*, was to secure his *Father's* fine House and Gardens to himself, (he had shamefully purchased them when exposed to sale by *Cæsar*, and stormed when the Price was demanded) yet the other Steps he had taken seemed so fair and disinterested, that it required much Prejudice to resist them. Who could think that a daily *Deference* to the Authority of the *Senate* — that the *Abolition* of the Dictatorship, (which since *Sylla* and *Cæsar's* Usurpations, was become only another Name for *arbitrary Power*) and the making a public example with a high hand of such a dangerous Villain as *Herophilus*, could point at any other purpose than the service of the *public Liberty*, and the Safety of its *Friends*: yet it is certain these Steps were made with a View to facilitate the Ruin of *both*, as very soon appeared.

¹ Καὶ νόμον ἐπέθηκεν, Μηδενὰ αὐτῆς Δικτατορίας γενέσθαι· ἀρεὰς τε ποιησάμενοι, καὶ θάνατον προσιπόντες, ἂν τις εἰσηγήται τῆτο, ἂν δ' ὑποσῇ καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα αὐτοῖς ἀνέμους ἐπιμενέοντες.

Διον. Κασσ. Βιβ. μδ.

² De Mario (i. e. *Amatio*) probè — optimè, tam etiam Bruto nostro probari *Antonium*.

Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. XIV. Ep. 8.

The first Improvement which *Antony* made of the good Opinion of the *Senate*, was to represent to them that his Person was in danger from the Fury of *Amatius's* Gang, and humbly to request *the Fathers*, that they would be pleased to empower him to arm a Guard for his Protection, against the outrageous and revengeful Populace. The Representation was not altogether groundless: They had begun to build upon the Spot where *Cæsar's* Corpse was burnt, a marble Pillar twenty foot high, sacred to his Memory, and inscribed To the Father of his Country; — they assembled in great numbers, and in a very tumultuous manner, about it every evening, which seemed to portend no good to the *Consul*, who had executed their Ringleader. But instead of the Guard allowed him by the *Senate*, *Antony* levied a Body of almost six thousand Men — not of common Soldiers, whom he knew he could command when he pleased, but of the old *Cæsarean* Subalterns, with their veteran Officers, his own Camp-companions at their head, *Saxa*, *Capho*, *Classitius*, *Mustela* and *Tiro*, all men of the same Stamp, mere Soldiers of Fortune, indigent and daring, who hated good Order and the *Senate*, and were ready to do or suffer any thing, to recover the glorious days of Licence and Plunder which they enjoyed under *Cæsar*.

Supported by such a Band, he began to make a strange Use of that Part of the *Senate's* Decree, which ratified all the Grants, and public Constitutions made by the Usurper, insomuch that by a singular sort of Fate, *Cæsar* though dead continued to

govern the Common-wealth. His Regulations took place, his Gifts were effective, and his Nomination to an Office gave as good a Title as if he himself had been still alive. *Antony* was far from stopping here, but went roundly to work, and made the Pretence of *Cæsar's* Nomination serve for whatever purpose he had a mind to promote for his *own* or his *Friends* advantage, as we shall quickly have occasion to relate at large: But what was now done gave great Distaste and some Disquiet to the Friends of Liberty; who complained, and very justly, that *the Tyrant was indeed taken away, but the Tyranny itself subsisted in its full Vigor*: and they had the more reason to say so, the longer and the more attentively they considered the Course of the Administration.

Upon the first flying Accounts of *Cæsar's* Death, his Niece's Son *Cajus Octavius*; a Youth about nineteen, who had been sent by his Uncle across the *Adriatic* to complete his Studies at *Apollonia*, (a Sea-town of *Illyricum*) was in the greatest Terror and Confusion. *Cæsar* had ordered *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, two trusty Servants, who had the Tuition of the young Man, to carry him thither, until he should himself march for *Pannonia* and the *East*, and call upon them to attend him in the Expedition. But that Design dropping with the Dictator, the *Centurions* of the Legions that were lying ready for the Campaign, came crowding about the young *Octavius*, and offered to stand by him to the last, if he would take up *their Quarrel* and his *own*, and avenge his Grand-uncle their

General's Death: For a corrupt Army will snatch at any Pretext, and act under any Leader rather than obey the Laws and be disbanded; — and is therefore the thing most to be dreaded in a free State. *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* said it was no inconsiderable Force the *Centurions* offered; but being uncertain how things stood at *Rome*, and under the recent Terror of his Uncle's Fate, he thought it best only to thank them for their Zeal, and immediately set sail for *Italy*.

He steered not straight for *Brindisi*, the usual landing Port from *Greece* and the *East*; not knowing how the Troops lying thereabouts might receive him; but put into *Lupié*, an unfrequented Harbour a little South of it, and sent out proper Persons to bring him Intelligence, how the Soldiery in the Neighbourhood stood affected, and whether any of the great Men, Restorers of the Roman Liberty, were in these Parts.

Here, while he waited the Return of his Messengers, he received the first Accounts of the *Act of Indemnity*, of the *Confirmation of Grants*, and some other Transactions at *Rome*. He likewise received a Copy of *Cæsar's latter Will*, at the foot of which, as the *last* and probably an *additional Article*³, to his no small Joy he found himself besides his Share of the Estate, adopted into the *Julian Name and Family*. His Messengers soon returned with Assurances of a hearty Welcome from the Garrison at *Brindisi*; whither he hastened,

³ In imâ cera.

Sueton. in *Julio*. § 83.

— did sacrifice, and amidst the Acclamations of the Legions, first took the Name of Cæsar.

When the News of his Arrival in *Italy* were spread, his Uncle's Friends came flocking about him; and especially the *Veterans*, who for their illegal Services had been put in possession of the *Estates* of their *Betters*, and were in dread of losing them, if not of something worse by his Death. Among these he passed some days in suspense and consultation; after which bidding them and all *Julius's* Partisans, who met him in multitudes on the Road, keep quiet until their Assistance should be necessary, he set out with no small Retinue for *Rome*.

It was a *bold* Step in a young Man, and had he fallen in the Cause, would have been accounted a *rash* one, to assume a *Name* that set him at the Head of a Party lately quashed by so dreadful a Blow; that subjected him to such a Load of Envy, exposed him to high Enmities, and involved him in a Contest with the Common-wealth. His Mother *Atia* was full of Apprehensions about it; and her Husband, his Father-in law, *L. Marcius Philip*, a wise and good Man, earnestly dissuaded him from either taking the Name, or claiming the Inheritance: insomuch that when the young Man in his way to *Rome*, went to wait upon him and his Mother at their Country-seat, which was hard by one of *Cicero's* Villas, *Philip* would not condescend to give him his new Title of *Cæsar*, and *Cicero*, who was there on a Visit, followed his Friend's Example.

When the Youth came to *Rome*, he found things in a different Situation from what he had been made to expect. He looked for nothing but *Careffes* and *Welcome* from *Cæsar's* Friends, especially from such as owed their All to his Uncle's *Profusion*; But that Party had assumed a *new Form*, and the Heads of it had taken other Views since the Death of their Patron. Antony was now uppermost, and pursuing the same Measures *Cæsar* had taken, to preserve his Superiority. Next to him was M. Lepidus of the old Nobility, and very rich, but a wavering worthless Man*. In the Confusion and Hurry that ensued upon destroying the *Dictator*, he had improved his Power as *Master of the Horse*, which gave him the Command of all the Troops about *Rome*, and seized upon the High-Priesthood vacant by *Cæsar's* Death. Next in order came P. Dolabella, who having been nominated to the Consulship in *Cæsar's* illegal Method, after he should set out for *Pannonia*, had now assumed the *Fasces* and *Liçtors*, and acted as *Antony's* Colleague. Of the same standing were their Successors designed, A. Hirtius and Vibius Pansa, all the four, if not equally debauched, (for *Pansa* was a Man of Decency) at least equally aspiring. After these were the *personal* Favorites, if I may so call the *three Persons*, who held the chief Place in *Cæsar's* Confidence, and by that means, though Gentlemen of obscure Birth, and one of

* *Ventosissimum* hominem Lepidum.

Plancus ad Cicer. Ep.

them a Foreigner, came to be Prefects of Provinces, and Directors of the greatest Affairs⁵. These were C. Oppius, Lord High Chamberlain⁶, Cornelius Balbus, principal Secretary⁷, and the knowing polite Cn. Matius Master of the Artillery⁸. These three were first intrusted with the Government of Cæsar's *domestic* Concerns, — they had been the Confidants of his *Pleasures*, and for their good Services in *these* Stations were advanced to Places of Dignity and Profit above their Rank and before their Time.

Not one of Cæsar's *Servants*, we may well believe, had any good Liking to the Restoration of Liberty, and Re-establishment of the Commonwealth. They well knew that the Chiefs of the *Nobility* and *Senate*, or the Men able, like *Tullius Cicero*, to raise themselves by their Capacity and Worth, would then have the leading in public Affairs. This they could not bear, *they*, who had lately seen themselves the Instruments of Power, and been the Canals through which Favors were dispensed or Penalties inflicted; and

⁵ C. Oppius & Cornel. Balbus, primi (Equitum Rom. præpositorum Provinciis) *Cæsaris* opibus potuere conditiones pacis & arbitria belli tractare: Matios posthac & Vedios, & cætera equitum Rom. prævalida nomina, referre nihil attenuerit.

Corn. Tacit Ann. XL.

⁶ A domesticis.

⁷ A Consiliis. — omnium consiliorum particeps.

⁸ Præfectus Fabrûm.

therefore above all things wished for new Disorders and a civil War. Nor did they long search for a Pretence.

They said, ' That the greatest Man in *Rome* ' was basely murdered ; that by that Deed the ' Republic was wholly unhinged ; that notwithstanding the late Act, all he had done would be ' reversed as soon as the old Form of Government ' (that is Liberty) was re-established , and the ' Actors in his death not only secured from danger, but chief Magistrates in the Empire.' That nothing but his Magnanimity , and too great Clemency had ruined him ; which if he had not indulged to excess, no such thing could have befallen so great a Man. These were their common Topics of Discourse : all joining in opposition to the *Pompeian* Party, (as the Friends to Liberty were impertinently called :) But when the Question came to be put, *Who should be at the Head of their own?* they differed widely.

There was no one of them of such superior Dignity (or Power as to command Obedience from the rest, or of such superior Merit as to gain them over to a voluntary Resignation of their Pretensions: Every one since *Cæsar's* Death meant to be uppermost himself; many of them spoke well of the public Liberty; and all of them cried out against Antony, as a violent unworthy Man, because he had outstripped them all, and stood in their way. By this means the Party was disjointed, and its Leaders broken, and at Variance among themselves. But Antony and his Colleague having at

present the supreme Power in their Hands, made fairly a Bargain, ⁶ *To divide it betwixt them, and give one another no Trouble in the Enjoyment of their Shares.* Their Story, which is worth knowing, is as follows.

Dolabella was a young Man⁹ of high Birth, and higher Pretensions; he was naturally forward and very active; and both in his Pleasures, and in Business, did not much regard the *Means* he used, so he reached his *Ends*. He loved Innovations; and a Point obtained by force, or by an illegal Step, lost nothing of its value with *Dolabella*. He was debauched, profuse, and deeply in Debt; and could not miss to follow *Cæsar*. He had bore Command in the chief Battles which that wicked Man fought against his Country in *Thessaly*¹, *Afric*² and *Spain*³, and got a Wound in the last⁴; the most desperate of three Engagements, disputed by Men on both sides, who were resolved to die or conquer. It was chiefly upon this Merit, as was said, that *Cæsar*, at his Return, named him to succeed to the Consulship when he should himself go to the *Parthian War*.

⁹ Not above - five - and - twenty.

¹ Battle of Pharsalia.

² Thaspus.

³ Munda.

⁴ Ter depugnavit Cæsar cum Civibus, in *Thessaliâ*, *Africâ*, *Hispaniâ*: omnibus affuit his pugnis Dolabella: in *Hispaniensi* etiam vulnus accepit.

Cicer. Philipp. II.

These two restless Spirits had been Colleagues before, and had made their Magistracy pretty remarkable: For after the Field of *Pharsalia*, where the *Roman* Senate bled, when *Cæsar* went in pursuit of their General to *Egypt*, he dispatched them two over to Italy, to look after the City as Tribunes of the People. This was the *only civil* Magistracy that did not fall upon the Choice of a Dictator. In the mean Time, the *Alexandrian* War, and *Cleopatra's* Charms (the Cause of it) having kept *Cæsar* from home much longer than was expected, gave his Minions an Opportunity to show *what kind of Men they were*. For *Dolabella*, whether from the Pressure of his own Debts, or whether he was bribed by Men in that Condition, is uncertain, but he preferred a Law for cancelling all Debts; what the Romans called *Tabulæ Novæ* (a *new Register*) by which every Creditor must have contented himself with a few Pounds in the Hundred, according as the new Regulation prescribed.

This was a *popular* thing in the worst Sense; it had all the *indigent*, all the profuse and disorderly People (by much the supernumerary part of a great City) for its Advocates. *Antony*, a sure Man in such a Cause, agreed heartily to promote it; but two other Tribunes, *Asinius Pollio* and *Trebellius*, stood up for Equity and the public Peace. Their Colleagues grew violent upon the Opposition, and managed the Affair with so much Extravagance and Tumult, that *Cæsar* being informed of their Proceedings after the *Alexandrian* Business was over, wavered for some time, whether
he

he should abandon *Armenia* to *Pharnaces*, *Mithridates's* Son, or haste home to redress the Disorders committed by his Favorites'. But a Remedy was soon applied from another quarter, which was little thought of.

In the heat of the Contest, *Antony* the eldest Tribune took it strongly into his head (I know not upon what Ground) that *Dolabella* was too familiar with his Wife: and though he was not over-scrupulous upon such points himself⁶, yet, like most Men of pleasure, when the Case came to be his own, he could not so well digest it. He immediately sent a Message to the poor Lady, to receive back her Dowry, and leave his House, which was the Roman manner of Divorce, to the great dissatisfaction of their common Friends: for she was his Cousin too, the daughter of *C. Antony* his Uncle, who had been *Cicero's* Colleague in the Consulship. But to be revenged of her Gallant, he broke measures with him, patched up Matters with *Asinius Pollio*, and by their joint Credit overturned the iniquitous Scheme. It was not baffled, however, without great Violence; for *Dolabella* would by no means desist, and the indigent Rabble were too much possessed with the Project, and concerned in its Success, to let it easily drop.

They assembled in great numbers in the *Forum*,

⁵ *Cæsar's* Comment. de bello Alexand. § 52.

⁶ Καὶ κακῶς ἐπὶ γυναῖξιν ἀλλοθρίαις ἦκε.

resolute to pass the Law, until *Antony* laying aside his Tribuneship, took up another Character, and acted as *Master of the Horse* to the *Dictator*. In this capacity he sent Soldiers among them to disperse them: They met with Resistance, killed some hundreds of the Commons⁷, and made the rest quit the *Forum*, and fly to their Houses for Shelter. To such a pass was the *Majesty* and *Grandeur* of the *People of Rome* brought by two lewd Statesmen, Instruments of *Julius Caesar*!

Yet this Story, which for its Injustice and Disorder would have made a great Noise under the Common-wealth, and been transmitted to us as carefully as the *Gracchic* and *Livian* Tumults, is hardly taken notice of in the story of the Civil War. Calamities of a deeper Die drew off Peoples Eyes, and made this lawless Attempt pass unobserved, which, to say the Truth, was but one of the mildest Consequences of *Julius's* Usurpation.

But from this time forward, the two Colleague-Tribunes were declared Enemies, and gave one another such Marks of it, as were suitable to their impetuous Tempers, and dissolute Manners. When *Cesar*, at his return from *Spain*, named *Dolabella* to the Consulship, *Antony* openly stormed at it; and found means to persuade the *Dictator* to take the Dignity for some time to himself. The day of Election came, when the eluded Candidate *Dolabella*

⁷ Inductis a M. Antonio Magistro Equitum in urbem militibus, octingenti e plebe occisi sunt.

stood up in the Senate, and painted *Antony* in such Colors, as made their Patron much ashamed of them both*. *Antony* was not behind with him; for in *open Senate*, and in presence of the unhappy Lady's Father, he cruelly said, 'That the reason of his opposing *Dolabella* was because he had been wicked enough to debauch his Wife;' and was so extravagant as to add, That if *Cæsar* persisted in his Resolution to name him, he, as Augur, would hinder the *Comitia*, or declare the Vote null, and the Meeting illegal* that should elect him. *Cæsar* bore all this with his usual Patience; for he had been long accustomed to wink at the Extravagancies of his faithful Friends, who served him against the Laws and their Country; but still he kept to his Resolution, and named *Dolabella* as his Successor. *Antony*, on the other hand, was as good as his word: for when the Election, with the usual Formalities, had passed through two Classes, and was

* Veniunt Kalendæ Jan. cogimur in Senatum, invecus est copiosius multò in istum (Antonium) & paratius *Dolabella*, quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus, quæ dixit Dii boni!

Cicero, Phil. 2.

* Hic bonus Augur eo se Sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut *Comitia* auspiciis vel impedire vel vitare posset, idque se facturum esse asseveravit Cicero. Philip. 2. But no Augur could do this, but upon some Omen appearing at the opening, or during the Course of the Assembly; which made *Antony's* threatening it two Months before impudent and ridiculous.

upon the matter completed, he stood up, and in quality of Augur pretended to adjourn the Assembly to *another day*¹. *Cæsar* lost his Life and ill got Power soon after, and *Dolabella*, little minding the Impediment thrown in by this pious *Augur*, immediately assumed the Rods and Axes, the Ensigns of Power. They were now again upon an equal footing: their mutual Animosities must hinder both their Designs: it was their Interest to lay them aside for some time; and they made up matters accordingly.

Let us now see the Use that was made of the Agreement.

The very day that *Cæsar* met with the reward of his Crimes, his Lady *Calpurnia* dreading the enraged Mob, lest they should break open and rifle her House, sent the things of the greatest Value for Security to *Antony's*. There were, among other things, *Cæsar's Tablets and Papers*; his *Jewels*, whereof he had great Variety, and *Money* to the value of seven hundred thousand Pounds². The Use he made of this Trust, besides the *Money* which he never restored, is hardly to be conceived.

¹ Ecce Dolabellæ Comitiorum dies: Sortitio prærogativæ; quiescit (viz. Antonius) renunciatur; tacet. Prima classis vocatur, renunciatur: deinde ut affolet, suffragia: Tum secunda classis; quæ omnia citius facta sunt quam dixi. Confecto negotio, bonus Augur (Lælium diceres) *alio die* inquit. Ibid.

² Plutarch says it was δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι μυριάδες. In our Money L. 806,294. 13 s. 4 d.

In Cicerone.

He had *Cæsar's* Secretary, one Faberius, at his devotion, and by *his* assistance made what Alterations and Additions in the Tablets he thought fit. The Act of the Senate confirming all that *Cæsar* had done made them valid, and he as *Consul*, having fold them to the Persons concerned for what he pleased, published them in the Capitol as Decrees of the Government³. He carried this Abuse to a shameful height: He granted Immunities from Taxes to States*, and even to Princes and whole Provinces, according to the Price at which they would purchase: He restored banished Criminals to the Privileges of Citizens, and forfeited

³ It was the Consul's Business, after any *Law* or *public Deed* was enacted, to put it in form, and cause it to be engraved on a Tablet of Brass, and fix it to the Wall of the Capitol, that every body might read it. These Tablets, to the number to three thousand, were burnt with the Capitol in the *Vitellian* civil War, and were restored by *Vespasian*, who sought out all the Copies of them scattered through the Empire. They were, says Suetonius, *Instrumentum Imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur pene ab exordio urbis Senatus - consulta, Plebiscita de Societate, & Fœdere ac Privilegio cuicunque concessis*. Sueton. *Vespasian*. § 8. The noblest and most ancient Effects of the Empire, &c. Philip. 2.

* *Multa Siculis Cæsar (dedit) neque me invito, etiam Latinitas erat non ferenda: veruntamen: ecce autem Antonius, accepta grandi pecunia, fixit legem à Dictatore Comitibus latam, quâ Siculi Cives Romani; cujus rei vivo illo nulla mentio. Quid! Deiotari nostri causa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam. Sexcenta similia.*

Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. IV. Ep. 12.

Persons to such Estates as had not been sold, upon paying *him* the Sum he required: He bestowed Largesses of great Value upon his old Fellow-soldiers, who knew that *Cæsar's* Command was the Pretence, but understood the Obligation to be from *Antony*. The Instances of this kind would be endless. His Lady the famous *Fulvia*^s sat at home, and received the Money in her Bed-chamber, while this hopeful Consul *sold* the Common-wealth, and made out the Grants as if done by the *Dictator*. At last, the long Continuance and Success of the Traffic made them careless, and they came to do the grossest things in the way of Fraud. There was a Grant, for instance, made out for the Cretans, by which *Cæsar*^s eased their richest Cities of the usual Taxes in the mean time, and to the surprise of every body, appointed, that after the Expiration of *Brutus's* Proconsulship, *Crete* should be no longer a Roman Province, but a *free State*. But most unluckily *Crete* came only to be decreed to *Brutus* as a *Palliative* for the Affront of depriving him of *Macedon*, three Months after *Cæsar's* Death; a Circumstance which *Antony* in the hurry of his Commerce had it seems forgot. By these vile Methods it is thought that he made more than double the Sum^s he had got of *Cæsar's* Money from *Calpurnia*.

^s Syngrapha H — S centies — facta in *Gynæceo*, quo in loco plurimæ res veniére & veneunt. Cicer.

This Agreement was made for *Deiotarus's* Restitution to his Kingdom by his Resident at *Rome*, without his Master's Knowledge, for *L. 80,000*.

^s *L. 1,550,000*. and upwards.

No body could believe that after this he should think of more ways to get Money ; and yet , if it be possible , he took a more openly infamous one , which was plain Robbery. He seized upon upwards of Five Millions⁷ which *Cæsar* had laid up in the Temple of *Ops* to defray the Expence of the intended *Parthian* War. This Sum the two Consuls parted between them. *Antony* was owing about three hundred and twenty-two thousand Pounds⁸ at the beginning of *March* , and had paid it quite off by the end of *April*. His Colleague had now a better Opportunity of doing the same by his Debts , than by destroying the public Credit with a new Register. But the Theft they committed was the more invidious , that the Money laid up in the Temple of *Ops* had been the Price of the Estates of the old *Patrician* and *Senatorial* Families , which *Cæsar* had exposed to Sale by public Auction , when he had overturned the Commonwealth , and killed or banished their rightful Proprietors. So that in the whole , what by open Rapine , what by impudent Fraud , *Antony* was computed to have amassed near eight Millions of Money , the Produce of the Bravery and Virtue of *ancient Rome*.

Soon after *Octavius* arrived at *Rome* , (whom we must henceforth call the young *Cæsar*) he went to wait upon *Antony* the Consul as his Father's great Friend , and to inquire concerning that Part of his Fortune which *Calpurnia Cæsar's* Wife had

⁷ L. 5, 651, 041.

⁸ L. 322, 916.

committed to his keeping. The young Man found the *Consul* in Pompey's fine Garden, and was kept long at the door before he had Admittance; and his Reception when admitted was of a piece.

Antony treated him haughtily¹; and when the Youth talked to him of his Design, to make good his Father's Legacies to the People, he answered him in a very provoking manner; and warned him in derision against *affecting Popularity*: He told him, that as he was newly come from learning his *Greek*, he could not but know the Proverb², *That the People were unstable, coming and going, like the Waves of the Sea*; and should be cautious of depending upon their Favor. By this Treatment he soon perceived what Assistance he was to expect from the *Consul*: It was the harder to bear, that he had looked upon him as his *best Friend*; and no wonder, since he knew that *Antony* owed every thing to the Man whose *Name* he bore. But he laid too great Stress upon Favors already bestowed; most Men, and to be sure the *worst*, regulating their Conduct by future Prospects. A

¹ Αντωνιος, τὸ σύμπαν, Οκταβις, ἅτε καὶ μεираκίς, καὶ πραγμαίων ἀπίρος, τὴν τε κληρονομίαν, ὡς καὶ χαλεπὴν, καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον οὖσαν ἀπωθουμένην, κατεφρόνησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ κληρονόμος, οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς τοῦ καίσαρος ὦν, πάντα διεχειρίζετο.
Διων. βιβ. μδ.

² Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ, τῶν ἐλληνικῶν ἀρχιδιδάκτος^{*} ὢν, ἑμαυτοῦ, ἀσάθμητον, ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσῳ κύμα κινούμενον, ἃ μὲν ἤλθεν, ὃ καὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν.

^{*} Ἀππιανὸς Ἐμφυλ.

^{*} It should be ἀρχιδιδάκτος.

Court-writer in a succeeding Reign² says, it was rather *Dread* of a rising Genius, than *Contempt* of his Youth, that made *Antony* receive *Octavius* so haughtily; and a later Author³ ascribes it to *Rage* and *Spite*, that *Cæsar* did not prefer his long Services to distant Kindred, and adopt him his loyal Lieutenant, rather than his Niece's Son. I had almost forgot to mention a Circumstance concerning his Entry into *Rome*, (which no doubt appeared important to many well-meaning people.) When he approached the Town, there appeared a natural, and no uncommon *Phenomenon*, a Circle round the Body of the Sun, diversified with all the various Colors of the Rain-bow⁴. But as this was the Form of the Crowns of Honor which the *Romans* bestowed upon their great Men, like other Portents, it came to be applied when the Event had come to pass.

At present, there was little Prospect of the young *Cæsar's* rising to great things: he was little more than a Boy, but of great Ambition, and very enterprising: he had made but one or two Campaigns, as a young Volunteer, when he had the Confidence to petition his Uncle *Julius*, then

² Vell. Paterculus.

³ Ann. Florus.

⁴ An Halo. *Memoriæ proditum est, quo die Divus Augustus urbem ex Apolloniâ reversus intravit, circum solem visum coloris varii circulum, qualis esse in Arcu solet, hoc Græci Halo vocant; nos dicere Coronam aptissimè possumus.*

created Dictator, to be made *Master of Horse*: It was the *second* Dignity in the Common-wealth. *Lepidus* was named by the Dictator at that time, (the second that he was chosen) and filled it more by the Antiquity of his Family than his personal Merit, and so could give no Umbrage.

But now *Antony* endeavoured to crush the Youth in every Enterprize. He refused to give him any Account of his Part of *Cæsar's* private Estate; and exacted most exorbitant Sums to let him have the Privilege of the common Law, in being confirmed *Heir to Cæsar*. His Brother *L. Antony*, a rude ungracious kind of Man, was *Pretor*, at whose Tribunal the legal Confirmation was to be made, and the *Consul* himself hired the Tribunes to impede it, that he might afterwards demand Money for giving way.

They continued for some months on these terms, sometimes forced to an apparent Reconciliation by the *Favorites* and *Veteran* Officers, and quickly breaking as their opposite Passions and Interests inspired. Men act both in Friendship and Enmity like themselves: There was no Species of Violence left unattempted by these Rivals to ruin one another. — They harangued, calumniated, mobbed, and at last hired Assassins to stab, and bribed Domestics to poison each the other. Mean while both of them left *Rome*, and rode about through the several Towns of *Italy*, by any means to raise the *Veterans*, and secure them to their Party. Should any one ask—What were the Senators, — the Pretors, and the real *Roman*

Patriots doing all this while? The melancholy Answer is, that the better part of them had fallen by *Cæsar's* devouring Sword. — The two Heroes *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and their Friends were lying by, waiting *legal* Power and the *legal* Time to exercise it; and the feeble Remains of the Senate, (*Cicero* and a very few excepted) were either corrupt, or inactive, and capable of little but womanish Wishes for the Prosperity of the Commonwealth.

But *Antony* by such Methods as we have explained, having amassed an immense Sum, thought it proper to make a Tour to the Country, leaving his Colleague *Dolabella* to look after the City; where it was not long ere *He* too had occasion to exercise his Power. *Amatius Herophilus* had been executed ten or twelve days; but his Crew continued to cabal after his Death, and assembled frequently about the *Altar* or *Pillar*, said to have been erected to the Memory of *Cæsar*: they became so insolent as to seize upon the *Forum*, and Courts of public Justice, and in a threatening manner to require the *Magistrates*, to come and consecrate the Altar, instead of *Amatius*, and do sacrifice upon it to *Cæsar's Numen*^s. This was open Rebellion, and called for a present Remedy; which *Dolabella* effectually applied. He sent privately for some Companies of Soldiers to Town, who fell upon the Mob assembled about the Altar at unawares, apprehended the most turbulent of

^s Deity or Godhead.

the Crew, and dispersed the rest without trouble. He proceeded with great Severity against the Criminals; the *Slaves* among them he instantly hanged, and the *others* of the Populace, according to the *Roman* Manner of Punishment, he ordered to be precipitated from the Top of the *Tarpeian Rock*: He did not stop here, but sent *Masons* and demolished the *Column* or *Altar*, which was the Sanction of their Rendezvous, and agreed with *Paviors* to pave the Foundations of it as public Ground, that it might never be reared any more.

The sound Part of the Senate received inexpressible pleasure from the whole Affair: They thought every thing was going well. The *Demolition* of a Monument reared to the Memory of an *Usurper*, seemed to look back as a *Condemnation* of all his Actions *. *Cicero* wrote a warm Letter of Compliment to the Consul, formerly his Son-in-law, upon his glorious Conduct †, and was so persuaded of the Effect of that exemplary Punishment, that he said, ‘*Brutus who had killed the Tyrant, might safely walk the Forum with a Crown of Gold on his Head.*’ It did indeed quell the seditious part of the Populace: But it was not from them alone that Danger was to be apprehended to the State. It was from *those*, who

* *Magnam ἀναδεύουσαν res habet: de saxo; in crucem; columnam tollere; locum illum sternendum locare. Quid quæris? Heroica.*

Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. xiv. Ep. 16.

† *Ep. 19. Ibid.*

by their high Stations and important Trusts, had it in their power to do great Good or great Ill, and would do either as it served for their private Ends.

Antony, in the mean Time, with a very great Train, made a Progress as far as *Capua*. He had now almost obtained his Wish: He held the highest Dignity of the Common-wealth; he had the finest Houses, and some of the fairest Estates in *Italy* (no matter whether right or wrong) in his possession: He had such Men about him as he liked, both for Business and Pleasure, whose Numbers he could increase when he had a mind. This, with the immense Treasure, of which he had robbed or cheated the Public, gave him leave to pursue his Pleasures *in his own way*, and ground to hope for their continuance.

His manner of Life was *wild* even in *Rome*; but when he went to the Country they talked of great Excesses. As Men naturally show their Inclinations at such Times of Indulgence, it may be proper to take Notice of *two Progresses* he had made before: for this was the *third* Time he had, as it were, the *Command* of *Italy*, and Power to trample upon its Inhabitants at his Pleasure. The first was when *Cæsar* went against *Afranius* and *Petreibus*, *Pompey's* Lieutenant-Generals, into *Spain*, and left *Antony* behind with a Part of the Army. He was Tribune at the same Time, and made a Progress through the Towns under Pretext of keeping them quiet, and in their Duty to *Cæsar*.

The Manner of it was very remarkable: The

Tribune rode in a Chariot, preceded by the Lictors, who were crowned with Laurel. These Officers were never seen but with the highest Magistrate, and were Marks of the sacred and supreme Authority of the Empire: But now in the midst of them, in an open Chaise rode *Cytheris* the celebrated Actress. She was a Woman who to an exquisite Beauty joined all the Accomplishments of her Profession, and we know what Wonders such a Conjunction is apt to work when displayed upon the Stage.

To cover, if possible, the Infamy of carrying about an Actress not of the highest Order^a with the Tribune, and in the same Equipage with his Mother, who was also in Company, she went by the Name of the Lady *Volumnia*; and so the Gentlemen of the greatest Respect call her, who were obliged to come and attend upon the Lord Lieutenant of *Cæsar*. One of his Retinue, *Volumnius Eutrapelus* lent her his Name. It was not *Volumnius* the Senator, but a Man of Pleasure, and very facetious, who lived with *Antony*, and acquired a handsome Fortune; and who, if I mistake not, succeeded to this Mistress some time after *Antony's* Marriage with the excellent *Octavia*^b. The rest of his Train were nearly of a Piece; reduced Gentlemen, Gamesters, Tumblers, Fencers, Drinkers, Catamites, and other Instruments of Riot, whom he carried through most of the free Towns and Colonies of *Italy*.

^a She was but a Mima, that is, a *Farce-player*.

^b Horat. Ep. 18. Lib. I. ver. 3.

His second Progress happened at his Return from *Pharfalia*. He had been a good while beyond Sea; and was coming home Victor from the Battle so fatal to *Rome*, full of Honor, and with large Powers from *Cæsar*. *Cytheris* went a long Journey (quite across *Italy*) to welcome her Captain, all the Way from *Rome* to *Brindisi*, the Place of his landing. They took no Care to hide their Commerce; though the Stage was not near so honorable then, as it is with us, or rather lay under the greatest Infamy¹. Nor was the old military Discipline so entirely forgotten, but that it was still infamous for a Man in Arms, intrusted with the *Roman* Citizens, and surrounded with their Legions, to abandon himself openly to Lewdness.

But *Antony* had then too great a Flow of Fortune to keep within Bounds. He was so extravagant as to ride with her in a Chariot drawn by Lions; the first Spectacle of that kind the *Romans* had ever seen. A grave Writer remarks, ‘That the making these fierce Animals bend to the Yoke, was looked upon as an Omen of breaking the generous Spirit of the *Roman* People².’ In this Equipage the *Roman Tribune* travelled the most patent Road to Town: his Plate was magnificent as if it had been for a Triumph; Tents were set up every where in the most delightful Spots near

¹ *Romani*, hominibus scenicis nec plebeiam Tribum, quanto minus senatoriam Curiam dehonestari sinunt.

Augustin. de civ. Dei, Lib. I. §. 13.

² Pliny.

the high way, in Groves or by River-Sides, and sumptuous Entertainments prepared against his arrival. When he came to any Town, his singing Wenches, Buffoons and lewd Creatures, were lodged in the Houses of the People of best Fashion: The gravest Men, and Matrons of the strictest Virtue, were obliged to receive these impudent Guests, whose abandoned Manners brought much Envy upon their Master, and a deep Detestation of his Debauchery. The Insolence of the Soldiers under that loose Discipline, increased the Outcry of the People, which grew greater and greater as he approached to *Rome*. Nor did he alter his Conduct when returned to Town: his Retainers committed all Disorders unpunished; they searched every where for Money, and Plate, under pretence that it belonged to Pompeians; and ransacked the Cellars of the Citizens for Wine to supply his Excesses. From these Progresses which he made while *under Authority*, when Cæsar was yet alive, we may easily imagine how he would manage now that he was Chief himself.

The *Campania* of *Rome* ³ we have already

³ Hinc (a *Sinuessa* in extremo *Latio*) felix illa *Campania* est: ab hoc sinu incipiunt vitiferi colles, & temulentia nobilis, succo per omnes terras inclyto; atque, ut veteres dixere, summum *Liberi Patris* cum *Cerere* certamen: hinc *Setini* & *Cacubi* obtenduntur agri: his junguntur *Falerni*, *Calini*: dein consurgunt *Massici*, *Gaurani*, *Surrentinique* montes: ibi *Laborini* campi sternuntur & in delicias *Alicæ* politur messis. Hæc littora fontibus calidis rigantur, præterque cætera, in toto mari conchylio è pisce nobilitantur.

described,

described, as a large rich Country, which from the time of its being first conquered, had been reserved as the Fund of a constant Revenue near the City: *that* and Sicily were the *Granaries* of Rome, and secured it from starving in Times of Dearth. But first the Populace, and then the Soldiery did *Cæsar* so good Service, that he thought it would be better employed, if it was distributed among them. Accordingly, as it was said, when first *Consul*, he had forcibly passed a Law to divide a *Part* of it among the indigent Vulgar: his Death prevented the Alienation of the rest among the Soldiery from taking place immediately; but it was too profitable a design to be entirely dropt: *Antony* as *Consul* took it up: He had the public Authority in his hand, and thought not fit to let it go without obliging his Friends. With this Intention he carried down his Family thither; that is, the *Players*, *Buffoons* and *Parasites*, and all the Train of dissolute People that frequented his House: Among *them*, and such of the *Veterans* as had entered into his Service, he divided this beautiful Country. His *Physician* had upwards of two thousand Acres; his Master in *Rhetoric* eight hundred: the *Actors* and *Actresses*, and the other Minions, had their Shares; only the *Foreigners*, the *Orator*, and the *Physician*, had their

Nusquam generosior oleæ liquor. Et hoc quoque certamen humanæ voluptatis tenuere *Osci*, *Græci*, *Umbri*, *Tusci*, *Campani*.

C. Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. III. cap. v.

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Lots in *Sicily*, in the rich *Leontine* Fields. This I suppose he did under pretence of an *Order* (the same by which he had got his own Money) in *Cæsar's* Tablets.

Having taken some days to dispatch that Business, he led those of the *Veterans* that were not better provided for, into a Colony at *Casilinum*, in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. The Action was against Law, because that Colony (*Casilinum*) had been planted but a few years before: But he wanted to clip the Territory of its haughty Neighbour, a rich and flourishing City, that loved the Laws and the Senate, and was afraid of such Plunderers as Antony. The *Roman* manner of founding a Town was to mark not only the Foundation of the Walls, but the Boundaries of its Common and Liberties with a Plough, and he took Care to make the Furrow of this run near with the Ports of *Capua*. These serious Affairs being over, he turned again to his Pleasures, which we may suppose, among so much good Company, had not been much neglected.

But now the most luxurious Entertainments, and the most excessive drinking, (a new and abominable Vice in *Italy*) became the chief Business of the *Roman* Consul. In his Return he stepped aside, and took possession of an Estate belonging to the celebrated Marcus Varro. It had never been sold; nor had any body ever heard that *Cæsar* had meddled with the smallest part of this great Man's Fortune: on the contrary, it was known that he had not only included him in the

number of those Senators, whom, having no *Right* to pardon, he spared through *Contempt*; but had courted his *Assistance* to a grand Design of erecting a public Library *: but *Antony* affirmed that he himself had sent and bought it of *Cæsar*, while he was at *Alexandria*, and would now make good his *Right*. He liked the *Villa* so well, that he stirred not from it for some days, and in the mean time omitted no kind of Riot which he or his Friends could contrive. The Commissioners who came to wait upon him as their Consul, from the neighbouring Towns, could not see him; neither indeed was it *proper* they should be admitted. And the Morning before he and his Company set out for *Rome*, they had by that early hour drank to such a pitch, that when the Magistrates and Citizens of *Aquinum*, a City on the road, had come to receive the Consul, and do him the honors of the Place, his Servants were forced to carry him through the Streets, in a Chair with the Curtains close drawn, to cover the infamous Plight of *Rome's* supreme Magistrate.

I have no Inclination to describe all the lewd Doings* that were talked of; strange things were reported—but their being acted in *Marcus Varro's* House, much increased their Infamy. That elegant Dwelling while in *his* Possession had been the Resort of all the ingenious and learned Men about

* Sueton. in *Julio*, § 44.

* *Ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familiâs versabantur. Philip. 2.*

Rome. It had been famed for such Conversation as *these* never fail to introduce where they are made welcome. *There* they used to consider the Laws of their Country, and search into its Antiquities⁶; *there* the Customs and Institutions, civil and religious, of different Nations, were criticized with Liberty and good Manners; Points of Philosophy and Questions of Literature would drop in, and mingle with high Strains of Humor and Pleasantry, to diversify and enliven a chearful Entertainment. But now Debauchery and Buffoonry took Possession with the Change of the Master.

When *Antony* left the Villa, and came to Town, he found *Dolabella* enjoying the Honor he had gained by restoring Quiet to the *Forum*, and punishing its Disturbers: all good Men applauded him, and the *Senate* began to hope they had got a *Consul* whom they could use as a Bulwark against the Encroachments of his abandoned Colleague:

⁶ Sunt ista *Varro*! Nam nos (*Romanos*) in nostrâ urbe quasi peregrinantes, errantesque tanquam hospites, tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando *qui*, & *ubi* essemus agnoscere. Tu *ætatem* patria, tu descriptiones *temporum*, tu *sacrorum* jura, tu *sacerdotum*; tu domesticam, tu bellicam *disciplinam*; tu *sedem* regionum, locorum; tu omnium divinarum, humanarumque rerum *nomina*, *genera*, *officia*, *causas* aperuisti; plurimumque *poetis* nostris, omninoque *latinis* & *literis* luminis attulisti & *verbis*: atque ipse varium & elegans omni fere numero Poema fecisti, *philosophiamque* multis locis inchoasti: ad impellendum satis, ad docendum parum.

M. T. Cicer. de Finib. Lib. I.

But they mistook the Man ; and seemed to have forgot by what Steps he had himself risen to that Office.

I has been already observed , that Brutus and Cassius , at the Expiration of their Pretorships , were to have Provinces ; *Brutus* was to have *Macedon* , and *Cassius* the Province he had rescued from the *Parthians*, *Syria*: They were two of the most considerable of the Empire. *Syria* was the richest Government, and *Macedon* had the greatest Army lying in it that belonged to the Republic. It consisted of the *veteran* Legions which *Cæsar* had picked out for the *Getic* and *Parthian* Wars. These *Antony* could have wished in any body's hands, rather than the Man's to whom by the present Establishment , and what *he* called Right, they justly belonged. He sent for *Dolabella* , and having helped him to a little more of his Friend *Faberius's* Industry ; he represented to him the Wealth of *Syria* ; which he could well do , having been there at a lawless Time himself, and tasted of its affluence with his Friend *Gabinus* : he told him that the *Parthian* War annexed to it was the fairest Field of Glory a young Man could desire ; and in short , without much difficulty, persuaded him to petition for that Province, not from the Senate, who would certainly have refused it, but from the People, the common Resource of every wild Statesman , who wanted illegal Honors or Power: At the same time, if the Province was granted, 'to ask the *Army* destined by *Cæsar* for the War which threatened that Province , as the

‘ Burden of it must fall upon the Pretor or Pro-
‘ consul who governed it.’

Dolabella greedily swallowed the Proposition ; and immediately calling an Assembly of the Commons to the *Forum*, of which he and *Antony* were now Masters, he asked and obtained the Command of *Syria*, with the *Army* intended for the *Parthian Expedition*. Before the Vote could pass, the Senate, extremely incensed both by the Matter and Manner of the Law, (for in that Form it must be proposed to the People) induced one of the Tribunes, *Asprenas*, to stop these Proceedings under pretence of some *Sign from Heaven*: But they were amazed, when *Antony*, who they made no doubt would also oppose it, fell severely upon the *Tribune*, and ordered the Call of the Votes to go forward. This was the first Time the Public was undeceived concerning the *Difference* between the Consuls; for the Story of the Money and *Faberius* was not as yet generally known. But *Antony*, besides the main End of taking so much Power out of the hands of those Men, *with whom he could have no Friendship*, gained other two: first to raise a mortal Hatred between *Cassius* and *Dolabella*; and next to show the Senate they had no ground to hope for his *Colleague's* assistance in opposing himself. Thus was *Cassius's* Province, in contempt of *Cæsar's* Appointment, at once ravished from him, and *Brutus's* left without a Force to keep it in obedience, or preserve it from the Incursions of the *northern People*.

It must, no doubt, appear strange to Men acquainted with Affairs, ‘ How it comes to pass, ‘ *That these Two Noble Romans have hitherto* ‘ *appeared so little in the Government of the Republic.* ‘ When a *Tyrant* falls, the Power uses to pass to ‘ the Arm that pulled him down; unless it be ‘ *either incapable*, or, which seldom happens, ‘ *unwilling* to receive it.’ But M. Brutus and C. Cassius having done what they did solely for the sake of the Laws and Liberties of their Country, claimed no other Share in the Management of Affairs than what they were entitled to by the *Offices* they enjoyed, before they had delivered *Rome* at the peril of their Lives: So that as soon as the Act of Oblivion was passed, and an apparent Tranquillity in view, they *sat quietly down* under the protection of the *Laws*, whose Force they thought they had restored: they formed no Designs upon *Houses* or *Lands*, laid no Projects of irregular Power or Offices for themselves or their Friends; had no Cabals of the old *Pompeian* Partisans, or bribing the *veteran* Officers of that Party. They gave an invincible Proof by Their Conduct, that they had acted without *selfish* Views, and had ventured their All for no other End than to restore Liberty to the *Romans*. They even bore with the Possession of great Estates and Honors, bestowed by *Cæsar* upon unworthy Persons rather than disturb the public Peace⁷. But

⁷ *Recenti illo tempore tu omnia ad pacem, quæ oratione confici non poterant; ego omnia ad libertatem quæ sine*

what I own is surprising, when *Antony* was beginning openly to abuse his Power, and partly by Rapine and Violence, partly by vitiating *Cæsar's* Tablets, had rendered himself so odious, not only to the Senate, but to the chief Towns in *Italy*^{*}, that they joined with the Fathers, in offering their assistance to *Brutus*, 'To restrain him by Force of Arms;' and rescue the Common-wealth, that too generous Man would not accept; but bid them, 'Let the
' Time of *Antony's* Consulship expire; if after that
' he attempted any illegal Thing, it was the Part of
' the Magistrates then in Office to keep him in his Duty.'

If ever too much Goodness was a Fault, it was certainly so here. It puts me in mind of what *Cicero* said of a strictly virtuous Harangue, made unseasonably by *Cato*, 'That it would have been
' a very proper Speech in *Plato's* pure Republic,
' but was a very improper one to be made to the
' Dregs of *Rome*.' *Brutus's* Management had too much of the Simplicity and Disinterestedness of a Hero for a Statesman in a corrupt Common-wealth:

pace nulla est. Pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar: Studia non deerant, arma poscentium, quorum repressimus impetum, ardoremque restinximus.

Cicer. ad Brutum. Inter Frag.

* See above; and — Erexerat se civitas in retinenda libertate consentiens. Nos tum nimis acres. Vos fortasse sapientius excessistis urbe eâ quam liberarâtis, Italiæque sua vobis studia profitenti remisistis.

Cicer. ad Brutum, Ep. 15.

It was strictly agreeable to the old Forms, and ancient Spirit of the Republic, but *pernicious* in the present Necessity of preventing immediate Mischief. Could the taking a little more Power than regularly belonged to his Office, and putting in practice the supreme Principle, *That every Law must give way to the Good of the People*, have prevented the dreadful Scenes of *Mutina*, the *Proscription*, and *Philippi*, (which he was at length forced to do after these Calamities had come upon them) I cannot see where was the Crime. But rather than blame him, let us admire the supreme Virtue and Abstinence of the Man, whose greatest Fault was a Goodness incompatible with the vicious Manners of the Times in which he lived. Whether he was afterwards sensible of his Error I cannot tell, but he soon found himself in no Safety at *Rome*, amidst a Multitude of *Cæsar's* Veterans, whom *Antony* and *Octavius* were enticing to *Rome*, with high Hopes of Rewards and Plunder: Wherefore he and *Cassius* wrote this conjunct Letter to *Antony*.

M. BRUTUS and C. CASSIUS Pretors,
to MARC ANTONY Consul.

“ WERE we not persuaded both of your Sincerity and friendly Disposition towards us, we should not have thought of troubling you with

this Letter; but in that Temper, and with such Intentions, you will certainly make it welcome.

We are informed that the Veterans are got together in great numbers at *Rome*, and that before the first of *June* they will be there in much greater. It would be very unlike our former Conduct, should we suspect you in this matter, or have any Apprehensions of harm from you. But having put ourselves in your hands, and by *your particular Advice* dismissed our *Friends*, not only by a general Intimation, but by special Letters to the Cities that were ready to defend us, we undoubtedly deserve to be made Sharers of your Designs, and particularly in matters that concern ourselves.

We therefore desire you will let us know what you intend? Whether you think we can be safe in *such a Confluence of the Veterans*? who we hear are talking of rebuilding the *Altar*: a thing no Man can incline or approve, who wishes that we should live in Honor and Safety. The Event makes it plain that we had *Peace* in our view from the beginning, and were aiming at nothing but the *common Liberty*: It is in no Man's power to deceive us but *yours*, from which we hope we are secured by your Honor and Engagements; but no other Person *can* do it, since we have both trusted you, and will continue to trust you for the future. But our Friends are in great Concern for us, and though convinced of your Sincerity as well as we, yet they remember, that another may easier put a Mob of Soldiers upon an Attempt,

than you can restrain them. We desire therefore that you will satisfy us particularly upon these Points. For as to what they say, that the *Veterans* were warned to attend; *because you were to bring a Bill into the Senate for their Provision*, is very foolish and trifling. For who do you think will oppose it, since 'tis certain *We* will not? No body can think us too fond of Life, who reflects that the least harm cannot befall *us* without putting all into Confusion, and entailing a general Ruin. *Farewel.*"

I Know of no *Answer* they received to this Letter, but that his Actions showed them before it was long, that their Confidence in him was ill placed. In reality, what could he say? his Conduct would bear no Colors; and the Form and Constitution of the Republic afforded no Pretence to the Enemies of Liberty for an Opposition to its Friends: *Antony*, after he thought himself secure, fought none, but openly bore down every thing that stood in his way to Empire: But the *smoother Men* of *Cæsar's* Party took their Pretexts from private Humanity and personal Friendship. ' Could they favor the Men that had killed their Friend and Benefactor? — might they not be allowed to cherish at least his *Memory*? — was it just to forbid an *Officer* to mourn his *General's* Fall, or regret the happy Days he had passed under his Command? — must they not utter a *Sigh* to one another upon the melancholy Occasion — nor retain the least Gratitude to the Man who made their Fortunes?'

It was upon this footing they put their Conduct; for the great Springs of public Actions and Maxims of Government were all against them: Liberty, *dearer than Life*, the *Welfare of the State*, *Authority of the Laws* and *Grandeur of the Empire*, were Subjects they could not decently mention. But I cannot better represent their Situation than by a most artful Letter of *Caius Matius*, written about this time to *M. Tullius Cicero*. That old and eloquent Statesman, had now for some time but little part in the public Affairs. His natural Caution and Delicacy made him weigh his Actions too much to please a Party that demanded *thorough* Services: that same Disposition had made him formerly ungracious to *Pompey* and *his* ambitious Dependents. But *Cicero's* Integrity, and great Capacity in civil Affairs, made *Cæsar* himself, and all the ingenious Men of his Party, treat him with much Respect; and the Elegancy of his private Life, and his facetious Temper procured him many Visits at his Country-house from the chief Persons of the *Cæsarean* Ministry. He had retired during the Usurpation from the *Forum* and Business, and, happily for Mankind, employed his Leisure Hours in Learning and Philosophy. But after the Death of *Cæsar*, thinking that the *public Liberty* was restored, he again appeared at the head of the Senate, and had the chief hand in passing the Indemnity. But there being an old Grudge between him and *Antony*, (as indeed what Agreement could there be betwixt such opposite Characters) who soon got the better of the

Senate, he again retired, and was visited by the rest of the *Cæsarean* Party, *Pansa*, and *Hirtius*, *Dolabella* and *Balbus*, as before. There was at this time a Knot of them met together at the Waters at *Baiæ* (the Bath of *Rome*) where the young Gentlemen, as he writes to a Friend, forced him to *declaim** to them before Dinner, and then they retired and passed their Evenings together very familiarly. The greater Part of them were *Epicureans* both in Philosophy and Life, speaking according to the *vulgar* Acceptation of the Word; for had they been *real* Disciples of *Epicurus*, and practised the Doctrines he taught, or imitated the Example he had set, they had lived temperate and un aspiring: But they contented themselves with the *Theory*, and like other *orthodox* Sinners, left the Practice of these Virtues to *Brutus* and *Cicero*. He used therefore to say that his *Scholars* in Eloquence were his *Masters* in *eating*; and that he was a bold Man, having ventured to entertain *Hirtius* without a *Peacock*.

Here this experienced Politician had many Opportunities to penetrate into their Inclinations; and as his Love to his Country was sincere, he saw with grief the desperate Projects of these lawless Men, and acquainted *M. Brutus* with them. No doubt they would endeavour to dissimble; for who would own that rather than miss of an ambitious Aim, he would involve his Country

* It was an Exercise in Eloquence practised by the *Romans*.
—See vol. I. p. 3. *Cicer. Ep. 28. Lib. II. ad familiares.*

in Blood and Confusion? But it was hard to conceal themselves from *Cicero*; he knew Men to perfection; and had curiously observed the Tempers and Characters of *Cæsar's* Minions.

C. Matius was a Man now in years, of great Experience and capacity. His Learning and Eloquence; as well as his Reach in Business, had effectually recommended him to *Cæsar*, whose early Favor he improved so well, that he had no occasion to ask more under the Dictatorship. There is a particular Turn in his Letter, and that kind of Address which conceals a different Sentiment under the greatest Appearance of Ingenuity.

C A I U S M A T I U S

to M. T U L L I U S C I C E R O.

“ I Am bound to acknowledge the singular Pleasure your Letter gave me; since by it I perceived that you have such Thoughts of me, as I wished, and indeed expected: not that I ever entertained a doubt of your good Opinion; but the high Value I put upon it, made me anxious it should be ever entire: I was conscious of nothing I had done, that could offend any good Man; much less could I think that *You*, a Man possessed of every valuable Quality, would rashly give credit to any thing, in prejudice of one whose best Wishes always have, and do attend you. In this Persuasion give me leave to answer some things, which have given you frequent

occasion to exercise your Goodness and Friendship in my defence: for I very well know what I am loaded with since *Cæsar's* Death.

They blame me for being *grieved* at the Death of my great Friend, and for thinking that the Man I loved had an unworthy End: They say that *private Friendship* ought to *give way to our Country*; — as if they had already made it out, that his Death has done Service to the Common-weal. But I won't play the Politician; I freely own, that I have not yet reached that Pitch of Wisdom, as to perceive that it has: at the same time, it was not *Cæsar* as the Leader of a Faction whom I followed in our civil Contests; but I could not abandon my *Friend*, though I was displeased with the Transaction: I never *approved* of the *civil War*, nor even the *Cause* of the Rupture; but did all I could to smother it in its Birth; and when my Friend had got every thing in his Power, I was neither tempted with the Wealth nor Honors I could easily have acquired, and which others, of less Interest with him than I, fought and obtained to an extravagant degree. I was a Loser in my private Fortune by *Cæsar's* Law¹, though the greater part of those who rejoice at his death, were enabled by it to preserve their Credit, and stay in *Rome*. More I could not have done for my own Life, than I did for every vanquished Citizen's: And can I, who wished every one of

¹ C. Cæsar's Comment. de bello civili, Lib. III. initio. Sueton. in Cæsare, § 42. — Quâ conditione, quarta pars ferè crediti deperibat.

them safe, take it well that *He* who gave them their Lives should perish? especially when these very Men were the Cause first of the Envy he drew upon himself, and then of his Ruin! — *You shall suffer then*, say they, *since you dare to find fault with the Deed.* — Unheard of Pride! They shall glory in the action, and others must not groan in Safety! We allow our Slaves the free Use of their Passions; they may have their Fears, their Joys and their Grievs as they please: which yet these Gentlemen, the Authors, as they say, of our Liberty, want to curb in *us* by Terror and Violence. But they may spare their pains: for no Prospect of Danger shall ever make me flinch from any Duty, or from the Exercise of *Humanity*. An honorable Death is a thing I never thought was to be avoided, but in many cases desired. Yet why should they be offended, if I wish they may repent them of what they have done? For it is certainly true, I would have *Cæsar's* Death embittered to every body. — *But ought not I, in what regards the Public, to wish well to the Interests of my Country?*

As for *that*, if my past Life and future Hopes evince it not, though I should hold my Tongue, I desire no Man to believe me upon the Subject: And for this reason, let me, *Cicero*, beg it of you, that the things themselves may have more weight with you than all I can say², and when you see it is *my* Interest, that all should go right, you will

² *Mihique, si sentis expedire, recte fieri, credas nullam communiomen cum improbis esse posse.*

then

then believe I can be in no concert with bad Men.

Shall I — who kept true and steady to my Country, in my younger days, when Errors are most excusable, take up a new Conduct now in my Decline, and alter the *Scheme* of my whole Life? I never will —, not wittingly do any thing that may give just Offence; save that I must always lament *the hard Fate of a great Man to whom I had so many Obligations*. Were it otherwise, I should never go about to deny what I had afterwards a mind to do; that I might not pass both for a bad Man in doing amiss, and a Coward in dissembling it. *But why did you then oversee the Games which the young Cæsar celebrated to the memory of his Father's Victories?* That was an Office of private Friendship, and of no public Concern; it was a Duty I owed to the Memory of such a Friend when he was gone; and which I could not refuse, when asked of me by a Youth of so great Hopes as the young Cæsar. — I am often too, at Antony's House, to pay my Compliments to the Consul; where, give me leave to say it, you will find abundance of those very Gentlemen that suspect my Affection to my Country, petitioning — and receiving substantial Answers: But what intolerable Arrogance is this! — A thing Cæsar himself never meddled with, but permitted me to be well with what People I thought fit, though none of his Wellwishers, that yet they who have robbed me of my Patron, must likewise try to frighten me from chusing what Friends I please. But I am not at all afraid, that either the

Tenor of my past Life should not be able to protect me from *idle Reports*, or that even those, who dislike my Constancy to *Cæsar*, would not in their Hearts prefer a Friend like *me* to one like *themselves*. As for my own part, if I can have my Wish, I resolve to pass the Remainder of my days in quiet at *Rhodes*; or if any Chance forbid it, I shall so live at *Rome*, as always to wish *every thing may go right* ³.

I am exceedingly indebted to *Trebatius*, for letting me know your open and friendly Disposition towards me; and making it now more than ever my Duty to cultivate an Affection for you, to which I have always been led by Inclination. Farewel."

Julius Cæsar had designed to celebrate *magnificent Games* at the Dedication of a grand Temple he had built towards the end of his Wars. It was to be consecrated to Parent-Venus, as a Return of Gratitude for her Aid in his Victories, and other more

³ *Mihi quidem, si optata contingent, quod reliquum est vitæ in otio Rhodi degam; sin casus aliquis interpellârit, ita ero Romæ, ut rectè fieri semper cupiam. These are the short genteel Expressions, under which a Man attached to the Destroyer of his Country, chuses to mention their Laws and Liberties, and every thing that was dear to them. To understand thoroughly the Art and Delicacy of this Letter, the one that gave Occasion to it, the 27th of the 11th Book of Cicero's Letters to his Friends must be read; and at the same time see the real Opinion Cicero had of Matius in the first five of the 14th Book to Atticus, and the last Sentence of the 9th Letter. In these he does not design Matius by his Name, but by the Appellations of CALVENA, MADARUS, καλάνρωμα, because he was early bald; a Deformity incident to free Livers, which the Roman Dress did not hide.*

genuine Favors. There were not wanting Undertakers for the intended Games, while *Cæsar* was alive, but after his death, either through fear or negligence, they were in a fair way of being forgotten, if his adopted Son had not thought it his Interest to put the People in mind of the Man who had formerly given them so many Entertainments of that kind. He employed *Julius's* old Friends, *Matius* and *Posthumus*, to provide every thing, and direct the Performance. This was the common way of courting the People: They had been so long used to it, that no body must pretend to *Popularity*, or hope for the *Honors* which the *People* disposed of, that neglected it. Among the many extravagant ones that had been voted to *Cæsar*, there was an Act, 'That a *Chair* and *Crown of Gold* should be set for him at all public Games, whether he were present or no.' This they would have continued to do at *these*, after he was dead; but the *Tribunes*, not without *Antony's* Privacy, interposed; and the *Equestrian Order* (the *Roman Gentry*) expressed great Dissatisfaction at the Attempt. — This was mortifying to the young Man; yet he bore it very smoothly; and a new *Portent* that appeared, helped to keep up his Spirits. "While these Games of mine (said he in his own *Memoirs*) were celebrating, a blazing *Star* was seen towards the North. It rose about five in the Evening, and was bright and visible to all the World for seven days together. The *Common People*, he added, believed it to be the *Soul of Cæsar*, received into the number of the *Immortals*; for which reason

“ we put a *Star* upon the Head of the Statue
 “ consecrated to him in the *Forum* not long after *.”
 So he talked to the World about it; but in his
 heart, he applied it with a secret joy to *himself* :
 ‘ That it was his *own Star* ; the Planet that ruled
 ‘ at his Nativity, and here happily appearing at the
 ‘ first public Enterprize he had undertaken.’ These
 things were rendered remarkable by the After-
 greatness of this Youth : had his adoptive Father
 fallen in *Spain* or *Theffaly*, he would have passed
 for another *Catiline*, and had the Son continued in
 a private Condition, we had never heard of the
 Ascendant at his Birth, or of the Comet appearing
 at the Games of his Parent’s Consecration.

The first of *June* wat now approaching, to which
 Antony as *Consul* had prorogued the Meeting of
 the *Senate*. The *Provinces* were then to be regulated,
 and what other things the *Consuls* had to propose,
 were to be heard and considered. *Antony*, as was
 observed, had already the material Parts of Power
 in his hands: The *Treasure* he had amassed, the
Guard he had taken into his service, the *Friends* he
 had made by the Division of the Lands, and *Cæsar’s*

* “ Eo fidere significari *Vulgus* credidit Cæsaris animam,
 “ inter Deorum immortalium numina receptam; quo
 “ nomine id insigne simulacro capitis ejus quod mox in
 “ Foro consecravimus adjectum est.”

’ Hæc ille in publicum : interiore gaudio, sibi illum natum,
 seque in eo nasci, interpretatus est.

Plinii Lib. II. Cap. 25.

It would seem it had been a *Bust* by this way of speaking :
simulacrum capitis, the Figure of his Head, on his Coins.

Will, were great Acquisitions : he now wanted a legal Title to such *Provinces*, as lay most conveniently for bearing sway in *Rome*, and commanding the Empire; and at the same time, to make such changes in the *Laws*, and sovereign *Courts*, as might best provide for his own and his Friends Impunity. That he might do this with the less opposition, he increased the number of his Guard, and marched in hostile Order towards *Rome*. The Morning of the Senate's Meeting, he posted Files of armed Men at such Avenues of the Senate-house as he thought proper: I think it was the Temple of Concord they met in at that time. The open avowed manner in which this was done, showed that it was by no means his Design to conceal his Procedure; and was Warning enough to any obnoxious Senator, that knew how roundly he used to go to work, to keep out of the way. *Lucius Cæsar*, though *Julius's* Cousin and *Antony's* Uncle, durst not look near the Senate-house; nor did the good *Philip*, *Atia's* Husband, think fit to attend so dangerous an Assembly. The noble *L. Cotta*, the wife *Servius Sulpicius*, and *M. Cicero*, the most eminent of the Consulars, kept away for fear of being murdered. Even *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, two of the Favorites, and Consuls elect for next Year, hardly thinking themselves safe*, retired to the Country, whither *Hirtius*, without much entreaty, prevailed upon *Cicero* to accompany them. It would

* Cofs, designati, se audere negabant in Senatum venire.
Philipp. I.

be needless after this to say, that Brutus and Cæsius could not trust themselves to this veteran Guard, nor at all in Town among such a Throng of *Cæsarean* Swordsmen: *Antony* had just gone through them, and had tendered an Oath to them, by which they swore to ratify and maintain whatever *Cæsar* had decreed and done; and to make sure of it, he proposed to appoint a particular Set of new Officers to inspect the Records once a Month, and make their Report whether *Cæsar's* Will was observed accordingly.

In the Absence of these great Men, and much more of the *other* murdered Princes of the Senate, *Antony* did in it what he pleased. The first day he passed an Act, empowering the *Consuls*, (*Dolabella* and himself) ‘*from that present time to take Cognizance and determine, with Advice, what Grants had been made by Cæsar.*’ This, in effect, was a Power, to make not only all he himself had done *Deeds of Cæsar*, but to add whatever more an indigent Army, and his own Profusion required; for that Provision (*ex consilio*) with Advice, was merely put in for decency, but had no force, he consulting only his Necessities upon that Head.

He next proceeded, without the least regard to the previous legal Forms used in such Cases, to repeal or rather to elude one of *Cæsar's* Laws: that ambitious Man, after he had overturned the Constitution, and made himself Master of the *Romans*, wished his new Subjects to live orderly, and give him as little trouble as possible; and therefore to

prevent the common Practice, well known to himself, of instigating the *Populace*, or inflaming the Mob against any Person or Measure, had enacted *Banishment* (or forbidding the use of Fire or Water) as the Penalty of a Riot or Treason; their Description of Treason was, *the doing any thing detrimental to the Grandeur of the Roman State*. Antony had no good-liking to this Law; he thought it might bear hard upon some of his Instruments; and therefore preferred another, *That to Persons condemned for Rebellion or Treason, there should ly an Appeal to the People*.

This was a certain Method to elude both *Cæsar's* Law, and all Laws of the same Tendency; and indeed to prevent any Person's being ever accused or condemned upon that score for the future; for *who* would accuse a popular Man of bad Designs, or violent tumultuous Proceedings, when the *People*, his Aiders and Abettors, were to be his Judges in the last Resort? Or suppose him accused and convicted before another Tribunal, what Judge would venture to condemn the Man, who by an Appeal could call him to give Account of his Sentence to a mercenary Multitude, Partners in the Guilt?

But to put all this in *friendly* hands, and to secure himself and his Gang from being called to any Kind of Account, he added a third Decuria of Judges to the former two. The *Roman* Constitution gave the Custody of their Laws, to Men of such Characters and Estates as were likely to be

the most incorrupt⁷: It both prescribed the yearly Rent a Man must necessarily be possessed of, in order to qualify him for that sacred Trust; and likewise restricted it to such *Professions* as were thought to have the best Influence upon the Minds and Manners of their Professors. But *Antony* wanted a Court of Centurions. These military Gentlemen were not excluded before; only they must be possessed of the Estate required by Law: But by *this* Act, whoever had been once at the Head of a Troop, let him be of what Character or Estate he pleased, might be made a Judge; and accordingly several sturdy *Gauls*, *Cretans*, and *Acheans*, who had been good *Halberdiers* in his or *Cæsar's* Army, were now venerable Judges upon the Bench at *Rome*.

Having thus provided for his own and his Friends Security, he next enlarged their *Power*. He ratified a Law, and affixed it in the Capitol, which he had got the People to pass clandestinely, without previous Promulgation⁸, a little before.

⁷ Ὁ δὲ (Νόμος Γαίης Γράκχ) ἦν δικαστικός, ὃ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπέκοιψε τῆς τῶν συγκλητικῶν δυνάμεως, (μόνοι γὰρ ἔκρινον τὰς δίκας, καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ Φοβερῶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦσαν) ὁ δὲ τριακοσίους τῶν ἱππέων προσκατέλεξεν αὐτοῖς, οὗσι τριακοσίοις, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις κοινὰς τῶν ἑξακοσίων ἐποίησε.

Πλάτωνα. Γ. Γράκχ.

These were the two Decurias; *Antony's* was the third.

⁸ Ac de iis legibus quæ promulgatæ sunt, saltem queri possumus; de iis quæ jam latæ dicuntur, ne illud quidem liquit; illæ enim nullâ promulgatione latæ sunt, ante quam scriptæ.

Cicer. Philippic. I.

It was a Matter of no less Moment than a *Prorogation* for five Years of the Governments of Provinces to their present Governors. It was contrary to an express Statute of *Cæsar's*, That no Pretor should govern a Province more than one Year, nor any Consul more than two⁹: (happy for himself and for Rome, if he had never kept one longer!) — But this violent Vote was not only a Suspension, or rather Abrogation of that Law, but an overturning of all *Cæsar's* Destinations, and of the Decree of the Senate confirming them: however that was compensated, as by its means the Province of *Macedon*, among others, which fell to M. Brutus, and lay so conveniently for transporting Troops into *Italy*, was kept in the Hands of *Antony's* Brother Caius, then Pro-pretor¹; and *Syria*, which fell to C. Cassius, was to remain under the Government of his Enemy *Dolabella*. This being Business enough for one Day, he adjourned the Senate to the *fifth*.

In the Interval he turned apprehensive lest his furious driving should put Men upon a quicker Opposition than would be for his Advantage. The violent wresting the Provinces from *Brutus* and *Cassius*, was a bare-faced Injury done to Men not well-shaped for brooking Affronts. He wished

⁹ Ne prætorie provincie plus quam annum, neu plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur.

Ibid.

¹ — Μακεδονίαν δὲ, τὴν Μάρκῳ τῷ Βρούτῳ ἐκ τῆς κλήρης δεδομένην, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γαίος σφετερίσασθαι.

Δίων. Βιβ. με.

to keep fair with them for a while, at least in appearance, and would try to alleviate the Injury by an *Exchange*. The Senate (if the Part of it that remained was to be called so) were glad of any Thing to cover the Injustice of so flagrant a Business. They met again upon the fifth of *June*, and in Regard that *Brutus* and *Cassius* could not exercise their Town-magistracy in safety, they gave it them in Charge to provide Corn from Asia and Sicily for the public Use; and instead of the Provinces taken from them, by the Vote of the People, decreed, that *Brutus* should have Crete, and *Cassius* Afric, at the Expiration of the Year².

It is scarce necessary to observe, that these Proceedings of *Antony's* were as opposite to *Cæsar's* Plan of Government, as they were to good Order and the public Quiet: so soon do People forget what has been the constant Cry of a Party when their Interest varies! The maintaining *Cæsar's* Acts, and keeping religiously to his Will, even to the minutest Design he had marked in his Pocket-book, had been the *Word* for some Months; but his Laws were obeyed, and his Will fulfilled much after the same Manner: for *Antony* thought it proper to remove the *Statutes* and *Pictures* *Cæsar* had left with his Gardens to the People, Part of them into the *Pompeian*, and the Rest into *Scipio's* Villa, of which also he had now made himself Master.

² The Corn-office was mean for Persons of their Rank; the Provinces but poor, and lying inconveniently for *Italy*, were therefore easily consented to.

From this time forth, looking upon himself as secure, he was at little Pains to dissemble. I cannot certainly tell whether he made any prior Application to the *Senate*; but soon after this, having called the Commons to the *Forum*, he told them openly, 'That it was very true, there were *some* who were well pleased that one of *Cæsar's* Murderers should command his Legions, and rule his Provinces; but that he hoped they would not tamely suffer such an Affront to his Memory.' He wanted to rid himself of a troublesome Neighbour *Decimus Brutus*, who was lying in the nearer *Gaul* (the *Modenese* in *Lombardy*) with a good Army. *Antony* had long an Eye upon that Province, both for its Wealth and convenient Situation, on the Borders of *Italy*. The wretched Multitude heard him with Pleasure. They had often tasted in their low Way of *Cæsar's* Bounty, that is, shared in his Plunder; and were become so mean as to think it no Indignity to hear the *Roman* Armies and Provinces talked of, as the Property of the Usurper. The Province was quickly voted to *Antony*, and a Pretence thereby given him to transport Troops into a plentiful Country, from whence he had an easy March to *Rome*.

At the same time, by a treasonable Compact with *Dolabella* he obtained five of the best Legions that were in the *Roman* Service. They belonged to *Dolabella* by the Act that gave him *Syria* and the Conduct of the *Parthian* War; but were lying in the Province of *Macedon*, whither *Antony* sent Messengers pressing his Brother *Caius* to ship them

off for *Italy*. The Report of their coming struck Terror into the Senate : they had been trusty Servants to the Destroyer of their Liberties , who had trained them up to his lawless Purposes; and it was not probable they would make any Scruple to do the same Services to *Antony*, who was treading in his Steps ; and who by his *Commands* and *Treasures* had attained almost a *monarchical* Power, and seemed too much in condition to establish it.

Here, I cannot avoid complaining of one of the most accomplished of the *Roman* Gentlemen , *T. Pomponius Atticus*, who owes the Immortality of his Name to his Friendship with *Cicero*, and especially to the elegant epistolary Correspondence that was the Fruit of it ³ : He was certainly a friend to Liberty and good Order at bottom; but carried the Principle of the *Epicurean* Philosophy which he professed , *Not to meddle with public Affairs* ⁴, rather too far. He had been intimately acquainted with *M. Brutus* from his Youth, admired his Virtue, and been the chief Instrument of conciliating the strict Intercourse between him and his Friend *M. Cicero*. He held him in such Veneration , that when *Tully* was Proconsul of *Cilicia*, *Pomponius*, in recommending to him a Concern of *Brutus*, added, ‘ that he should think all ‘ *Cicero’s* Fatigue and Labor in his Government

³ Nomen Attici perire *Ciceronis* epistolæ non sinunt: nihil illi profuisset gener *Agrippa*, & *Tiberius* progener, & *Drusus* *Cæsar* pronepos.

Seneca. Epist. xix.

Μή πολιτεύεσθαι.

‘ well bestowed, though he should bring nothing away, but M. Brutus’s Friendship.’

There was a Man of the same Turn and Manners with *Brutus* himself, and who had a suitable Attachment to him, *C. Flavius*, a Roman Knight of a good Family and Fortune’, and of a better Spirit. It was he who made the bold Stand against *Cæsar* after his Victories, that amazed *Rome*. The Dictator behaved *ambiguously* when pressed to assume the Title of *King*: his greatest Favorites were the Men who made a Show to force it upon him: and one of the Multitude thinking he might copy after them and curry favor, took a Garland of Laurel, and twisting a *royal Diadem* ‘ about it, put it upon one of *Cæsar*’s Statues in the *Forum*. The Tribunes, *C. Flavius* and *Epidius Marullus*, as Guardians of the Liberties of the *Roman* People, boldly interposed, ordered the fellow to prison, and the royal Ensign to be torn from the Garland. *Cæsar* took high Offence; — being by their Rashness, as he pretended, deprived of the *Glory of giving*

‘ *C. Flavio honesto & ornato Equite Rom. valdè familiariter utor — & tibi affirmo, & ex ejus observantiâ, & præterea splendore, atque inter suos gratiâ magnam voluptatem esse capturum.*

Cicer. ad Acil. Siciliæ Procons.

‘ Corona laurea, candidâ Fasciâ præligata.

Sueton. in Julio.

Διάδημα, σεφάνῳ δαφνῆς περιπεπλεγμένον.

Πλατάρχ. Καίσαρ.

The Diadems of the Ancients were not like our *Crowns*, but a *white List* or *Fillet* tied round the Head, (as the Word signifies) the Ensign of Royalty.

the Refusal. Wherefore, among the other Powers of the Republic, accumulated in his Person, being then Cenſor, he ſtrippt them both of their Honors, and declared them incapable thenceforth of bearing Office in the State. In the height of his Wrath, he had almoſt broke out into deeper Revenge⁷; but he was ſo ulcerated by that legal Deed, that he ſent for old *Ceſetius Flavius* the Father, and told him he would do great things for his *other Children*, if by his paternal Authority he would put a Mark upon the audacious Tribune, and diſinherit his eldeſt Son. The old Knight answered him coolly; *You will find it, Cæſar, an eaſier matter to deſtroy every Child I have by your Power, than to make me caſt out any one of them by mine.* It is not ſtrange to find the Son of a Man, capable of making ſuch a reply to the Dictator, (whoſe Sword had made the World and *Rome* bow before him) oppoſing *Cæſar* in his Life-time, and after his Death, a firm Friend to *Brutus*. He roſe to be his Maſter of Artillery, Lieutenant-General and Deputy Governor of his Provinces, and ſtruck a Medal as a Monument of his Dignity and Gratitude⁸.

⁷ Pene vim dominationis experti.

Vell. Patercul.

⁸ On one ſide, the Head of *Brutus*, and *C. Flavius*. Hemis. Leg. Propr. on the Reverse, a Victory crowning a Trophy, and *Q. Cæp. Brutus. Imp.*

Urfin. Famil. *Flavia & Junia.*

Q. Cæp. was a Name aſſumed by *Brutus* in virtue of an Adoption.

This Gentleman was sent to *Atticus* upon a very important Errand. *Antony's* ill Intentions had soon appeared by his Conduct; and, though he was very gracious with the lewd Soldiery, yet the *Senate*, the *Cities* of *Italy*, and all the *sober Part* of the Common-wealth had him in Abhorrence. Their Eyes therefore turned upon their Deliverers *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to rid them of a *second* Master, loaded with many more Vices than the first; and they accordingly sent them Proffers of their utmost Assistance: But as *Antony* was become formidable; had levied a great Body of Men, and was possessed of much Money to pay them, it was thought proper, that the *Roman Knights*, a rich and powerful Order, should by contribution establish a *Fund*, to enable the Friends of the Republic to oppose him. This would have been easily brought to bear, if some of the leading Men in that honorable Body had set the Rest an Example, and subscribed large Sums to the *Patriot-Fund*. *T. Pomponius Atticus* both by his *Age*, (now after sixty) his Character, and splendid Fortune, was the Man of the greatest Authority of *Equestrian* Rank. To him therefore, in his Friend *M. Brutus's* Name, *Flavius* first applied; told him of the Scheme, and urged the Reasons for his leading in a Measure so necessary for the public Security, with the Warmth inspired by the Love of *Brutus* and *Rome*. The old *Epicurean* heard him, — and bid him carry back for answer, *That if M. Brutus stood at any time in need of his Purse, it was always at his Service as far as it would*

go:— *But that he would neither enter into any Society for raising such a Fund, nor so much as meet with any Person to commune upon the Subject.* This resolute Refusal disheartened the Rest, and quashed a salutary Project, which might have enabled *Brutus* and *Cassius* to have accepted of the zealous Offers of Men and Arms made them by the *Italic* States, to have defended Italy itself, and thereby prevented the Slaughter at *Mutina*, the Junction of the broken *Cæsareans*, and the horrible ensuing Proscription. So mischievous was the Effect of the mean narrow Principle of *taking Care of yourself, and your own Quiet in the first Place; and letting every Thing beside go to Ruin.* It was the more surprising from *Atticus*, as no man was more intimate with *Brutus* at that very Time; and, notwithstanding the Disparity of their Years, was used by that great Person, not only as a *Counsellor*, but a daily *Companion*: Yet I do not find that he retained any *Repentment*, though he lost not the *Memory* of this unhappy Refusal. He seems rather to contrive an *Excuse* for it, and with his wonted Goodness, tells him in a Letter, ‘ That he cannot absolutely condemn his Conduct; — that both his Years, — his abstracted Manner of Life, — and Concern for the Welfare of his Children, all conspired to deter him from Action, or exposing himself to Danger; as he understood from *C. Flavius* his Friend.’

But while the Consuls were thus busied in pulling down the Structures they ought to have preserved,

preserved, two Sets of Men were naturally forming, who kept at present aloof from public Affairs, but were concerting Measures for the future. The first consisted of all the Friends to Liberty and Virtue, that were attached to, or in Correspondence with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, their Deliverers: The other, of the secondary Leaders of the *Cæsarean* Party, at present eclipsed by *Antony* and *Dolabella*, but hoping soon to come into Play themselves: These were *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, with the young *Cæsar*, yet at a Distance from Power because of his extreme Youth: but considerable by the Attachment of some of the *Veterans*, and the Favor of the People. Between these two Parties was placed *M. T. Cicero*, a Heart-Friend to the former, and very familiar with the latter; and therefore serving as a Cement to keep them in a good Understanding.

It was undoubtedly this familiar way of living, that made *Brutus* and *Cassius* imagine *Aulus Hirtius* might be won over to the better Party. *Cassius* wrote a very earnest Letter to *Cicero*, 'to try to keep him well affected to the Common-wealth:' *Cicero* in answer told a great Truth, 'that *Hirtius* was indeed angry with *Antony*, but a Wellwisher to his Cause.' Yet he wrote to him as he was desired, and, with his usual Address, after a Question or two about the Senate, magnified the Service he might do his own Reputation and the Public, in preserving its Peace and securing its Liberty; which he said, could not be done if *Brutus* and *Cassius* were not maintained in

the possession of their Honors and Dignity, and therefore took upon him to recommend *their* Concerns to him as the same with the *Public's*, and a Conjunction of Interests that might produce the best Effects. *Hirtius* soon returned him this Answer.

“**Y**OU ask whether I be still in the Country? Do you suppose that I, when every Man is upon his mettle, would chuse to indulge Sloth? I have even got out of Town the *second* time, thinking it more proper for me to be absent than in the Senate; and write you this, so far on my Way to *Tusculum*; — yet don't imagine neither that I am a Person of such Activity, as to hurry back in five Days against the next Meeting: nor do I see any great Use for our Attendance, since every Thing is regulated for so many Years.

As for *Brutus* and *Cassius*, I wish, that with as much Ease as I can grant what you ask for them, you could persuade them not to take any *warm Resolution*. You say they wrote to you, — *giving way*. How *giving way*? *Whither pray*? *Or for what*? For Heaven's sake *Cicero*, try to restrain them. Don't let all that has been done for the public Quiet be ruined: You know Fire, and Sword, and Rapine must ensue: Only if they are apprehensive of Danger to themselves, let them be *upon their guard*, but attempt

nothing besides. I am firmly persuaded, that the boldest Resolve they can take, will not do their Business so effectually as slower Counsels, if they be carefully followed. For as Things go at present, they cannot be very lasting; but are capable of doing Mischief if brought to an immediate Struggle. Direct for me at *Tusculum*, and let me know what you believe they will do. Farewel."

Cicero assured him they were taking no warm Resolution; and said to a Friend, 'That he perceived the *Cæsarean Party* were more afraid of the other than they needed to be.' *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were certainly Enemies to *Antony*. They wished his Consulate were at an end, and at the same time, that *Brutus* and his Friends might be in no Condition to meddle with Affairs, that they might have the better Game when they came upon the Field themselves.

All this while that great Man kept in the Country. He had left *Rome*, from a just Apprehension of the Fury of the *Veterans* spirited up by *Antony*; and was likewise informed that the young *Cæsar* had hired some *Ruffians* to murder him. But upon the News of these strange Doings, his Friends came all about him. He was at *Antium*, a delightful Village upon the Sea-side, famous for the celebrated Temple of Fortune*. His Mother *Servilia* was with him, and her Daughter *Tertia* (or *Tertulla*) *Cassius's* young Wife. His own *Porcia* was there too, *Cato's* Daughter: *Cicero* passed

* Horat. Lib. I. Ode xxxv.

over to them from his Country-House, and *Favonius*, *Cato's* Admirer, made up the illustrious Company.

When they came to talk of Affairs, and their present Situation, M. Cicero, the Man of the greatest Experience, opened the Consultation. He was of opinion, 'that Brutus should accept of the
' Handle given him by the *Senate*, and go for
' *Asia*; that *Cassius* should likewise go to *Sicily*,
' there being nothing presently to be done but
' to take care of *themselves*; that in so doing they
' provided for the Welfare of the Public, which
' now depended upon their Person and Prosperity.' He had scarcely said so when *Cassius* himself came in and joined them: *Cicero* began to repeat what he had been saying, — of their accepting the Employment of providing Corn for Rome, when *Cassius* interrupted him, and with a resolute Countenance¹, said, *he would never go to Sicily, nor ever accept of a Favor given with such Indignity.*
' What will you do then?' said *Cicero*. ' *I'll go*
' *straight to Achaia.*' ' And you, *Brutus*, said
' the same Person, what will you do?' ' *I'll go to*
' *Rome if you think proper.*' ' I think it by no
' means proper, said *Cicero*: you will not be safe
' there.' ' *But suppose I could*, replied *Brutus*,
' *would you approve my going?*' ' So much, that
' with my good Will, you shall not look near
' your *Province*, neither now, nor when your
' *Pretorship* was out: But the Supposition is

¹ Fortibus sane oculis.

‘groundless; for things are in that Ferment there,
 ‘and in those Hands, that you could have no
 ‘Security of Life or Dignity.’

‘Twas then they all began to complain, and
 particularly *Cassius*, ‘That they had neglected
 ‘such glorious Opportunities, when every thing
 ‘might have been settled: and heavily blamed
 ‘*D. Brutus*, who having three Legions at hand,
 ‘did not march them directly to *Rome*, and
 ‘prevent *Antony*’s growing so formidable; hinder
 ‘him from passing such iniquitous Laws, and
 ‘embezzling so much of the public Money as he
 ‘had done.’ To this *Cicero* replied, ‘It was
 ‘very true, the Complaint was well founded; but it
 ‘was too late, and served no purpose to recal these
 ‘things now; they were past and over, and could
 ‘not be remedied: That without doubt the Senate
 ‘ought to have been instantly called, and the People
 ‘inflamed with Liberty and Revenge, while the
 ‘heroic Deed was warm, and the Romans in Ad-
 ‘miration of their Deliverers; that then they might
 ‘have done what they pleased, and put the whole
 ‘Republic upon another Footing².’ *Servilia* then
 broke out, ‘that she had never heard any body
 ‘say so before!’ — At which *Cicero* bit his Lip,
 —stopt short in his Discourse, and did not touch

² *Meministin’ me clamare illo ipso primo capitolino die, Senatum in capitolium a Prætoribus vocari. Dii immortales! quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus — ?*

Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. XIV. Ep. 10.

upon a tender Point with which he was going to conclude, ‘*That some others should have accompanied Cæsar*’: it would seem he was cautious ‘*in presence of so many Ladies, or unwilling to offend Servilia, who had been long connected with the other Party.*’

They broke up therefore with this Resolution, that *Brutus*, as *Pretor* should order Games to be made with the utmost Magnificence in his Absence; and then set sail for *Asia*, to pursue his high Designs; that *Cassius* should go to *Achaia*, and *Servilia* by her Interest among her old Friends, was to procure the *Corn-commission* to be rased out of the Act³.

A Promise of this Nature from a Lady, to procure a Clause in a Decree of the Roman Senate to be cancelled, cannot but excite a Curiosity to know who she was, and how she came by so much in Power. *Servilia*, *Cato’s* half Sister, and Mother to *Marcus Brutus*, was a Woman of great Spirit and Understanding: By the Charms of her Person and Manners, when in her Bloom, and by her Prudence and Alliances afterwards, she made all her Life a great Figure in Rome.

³ Ego repressi. — And before, Nec tamen illum locum attingere, Quemquam præterea oportuisse tangi.

⁴ Cassius frumentariam rem aspernabatur: eam Servilia sublaturam ex Senatus cons. se esse dicebat: noster vero (*Brutus*) ἢ μάλα σεμνῶς. in *Asiam*.

Cicer. at Attic. Lib. XIV. Ep. 10.

She had been extremely beautiful, and had early captivated *Cæsar's* Heart, which, it was said, she had used very tenderly: It is even uncertain, from *Plutarch's* way of speaking⁵, on whose side the Passion first began; or which of them made the first Advances: *Julius Cæsar* was allowed among other greater Qualities, to be the handsomest Man of his Age⁶: The Lovers were much together about the time of the *Catiline-Conspiracy*, in which the ambitious *Cæsar* was suspected of being not a little dipt. *Servilia* was then married to *D. Silanus*, Consul elect; the same whom *Cæsar's* artful Speech persuaded or frightened to change, or rather to explain away his Opinion concerning punishing the Conspirators, from *Death* to perpetual *Imprisonment*.

When the Senate was met upon that cruel Affair, in the height of the Debate, (which came at last to be managed wholly by *Cato* and *Cæsar*) there was a small Note slyly slipped into the latter's hand, by a servant from without: *Cato* perceived it, and imagining it might be a private Advice from some of the guilty Gang, called out to have it publicly read. *Cæsar* stood up, and said, 'That the Note concerned his private Business only,

⁵ Εγνώκει γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ Καίσαρ, νεανίας ἔτι ὢν, τὴν Σεργιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσσαν αὐτῷ. — ἔγω μὲν ἦν ὁ πρὸς Καίσαρα Σεργιλίας ἔρως περιέδοιτο.

Πλουτάρχ. Βρετος.

⁶ Forma omnium civium excellentissimus.

C. Vel. Paterc. Lib. II. § 41.

‘ upon which he hoped the *Senate* would not
‘ think proper to break in.’ His shifting it made
the inflexible *Cato* press with the greater Vehe-
mence to have it produced. The *Senate*, he said
at such a Juncture, might demand the sight of
what Papers they pleased for their Satisfaction;
and threw out some broad Hints at the Man who
wanted to conceal any thing in that Circumstance
of the State. *Cæsar* thus put to it, said, ‘ He
‘ could never consent to make his *private* Concern
‘ a *Senate-business*; but *Marcus Portius Cato* was
‘ so much his Friend, that if it would satisfy him
‘ to read the Note by himself, he was very
‘ willing to do him that Pleasure.’ *Cato* took it
in his hand, and casting his Eye upon the Con-
tents, instead of a Plot against the State, found
it to be a very tender Billet from his own fair
Sister to the gentle *Cæsar*. He threw it back to
him with Indignation, and some Names befitting
the Profligacy of his Manners. The Adventure
came to be known, and made some Noise in
Town, but did not break off the Commerce:
for the first time *Cæsar* was Consul he made the
Lady a Present of a Pearl, (the *Kind* of Jewels
then in the highest Vogue) valued at no less than
L. 50,000. And long after the *Catiline Conspiracy*,
when he returned Conqueror to *Rome* from the
Civil Wars, and was setting the forfeited Estates
to Sale, he ordered a beautiful Seat near *Naples*,
for which she had a Liking, to be made over to
her for a *Shilling*, or some such trifling Sum. I

know of no Children she had to *Silanus* ⁷, but she had a Son and two Daughters to her first Husband *M. Junius Brutus*. The Daughters were both Beauties.

Julia the eldest took a Strain of the Mother: She was married to the Heir of one of the richest and noblest Families in *Rome*, *M. Emilius Lepidus*: but whether through Contempt of this her Spouse, who was graceful neither in Body nor Mind, or through the Bent of her own Inclinations, she admitted the Addresses of *T. Veditius Pollio*, a very notorious Man, in the way of Gallantry, and honored with the Confidence of *Pompey the Great*.

This Gentleman, wholly immersed in Pleasure, was making the Tour of the *Asiatic* Towns for his Recreation. The *Roman* Method of travelling was on Horse-back: but *Veditius* rode in his four-wheeled Chaise, followed by a couple of covered Waggon, carrying his Kitchen, Tents, Beds, and all the Instruments of Luxury. A Litter or Hand-chair likewise attended his pleasure, when he had a mind to exchange the jolting of the Chaise with a smoother Carriage: Otherwise the Chair was occupied by a *Baboon* he carried about to divert him. These four Vehicles, with a great Train of Servants, and several wild Asses, either for their Milk or Colts, for a *Suckling* of this

⁷ It is not impossible but *Cassius's Wife* may have been *Silanus's Daughter*, as his Family Name was likewise *Junius*: *D. Junius Silanus*.

Species was thought a Dainty) made up his Equipage. With this Retinue he arrived at *Laodicea*; where finding himself rather too much encumbered, he deposited a Part of his Baggage in the House of another common Friend of *Pompey*; and proceeded on his Journey: But the *Laodicean* Landlord happening to die soon after, and having, according to the *Roman* manner, left the great Man, their Patron, the better Part of his Fortune, *Pompey* dispatched *C. Vennonius* his Trustee, to take possession in his Name of the newly devolved Inheritance. *Vennonius* was an exact Man: In doing his duty, — examining the Goods, and taking Inventories, he came at last to *Vedius's* Trunks; which he immediately broke up, (making no doubt of their belonging to the deceased,) and found them full of *Rarities* of a peculiar kind. By the Contents of one, we may guess at the rest; — five curious little Statues, done after Nature, for five of the greatest Ladies in Rome. They were all married; and the beautiful Junia, *Brutus's* Sister, was not the least remarkable of the number. *Tully* happened to be in *Laodicea* when the Thing was the Talk of that Town; and in writing the Story to his curious Friend *Atticus*, he subjoins, ‘ That he wonders with what Face *Cn. Pompey* could live in Intimacy with so very a Profligate as *Vedius*, or how *M. Brutus* could hear such Stories about his Sister with so little Concern’—! It has been taken for granted, it would seem, that the Statues have not been *Fancies* of the Artist, but taken from the Life. *Junia* had several

Children,—and among them an ambitious Youth, (the same who was sent with *Antony's* Son as an Hostage into the Capitol) who being the loveliest Person of his Age, could not resemble his Father, and of whom we shall have a melancholy Scene to relate hereafter.

Servilia's second Daughter and third Child was *Junia Tertia*, or in the Diminutive, *Tertulla*, married to the high-spirited *C. Cassius*. I am apt to believe, that the strict Friendship between him and the young Lady's Brother, *M. Brutus*, might promote this Match: But certain it is, that besides the Nobility and Opulence of the Family, the Mother's Interest with *Julius Cæsar*, made it then more considerable: and if we believe the scandalous Reports (for *such*, I think, they were) that prevailed at that time, the young Lady was no less gracious with the Dictator herself. But I am persuaded there was no Truth in the Story, and impute the *Appearances* that may have given Rise to it, to the high Favor in which the Mother stood with the Dictator. The Report however, true or false, and the Gift of so fair an Estate, gave *Cicero* a Handle for a witty and bitter Sarcastm*, which admits not of a Translation in our Language. In every other respect her Character was unble-

* Bello civili, super alias donationes, amplissima prædia ex auctionibus hastæ, ei Nummo addixit: cum quidem plerisque vilitatem mirantibus, facetissimè Cicero, 'Quo melius, inquit, emptum sciatis, Tertia Deducta est.' Existimabatur enim Servilia etiam suam filiam *Tertiam* Cæsari conciliare.

missed, except by *modern Critics*, who found their Surmise upon the Fragment of a lewd Letter written by *Antony* to the young *Cæsar*. Among the Names of many other Mistresses there recited, there is one *Tertulla*, who, they say, must have been *Servilia's* third Child, and *Cassius's* young Widow: as if there had not been five hundred Ladies of the same Name then at *Rome*, where there was scarce a Family whose *third* Child was a Female, that had not a *Tertia* or *Tertulla* in it. It is very true that this lovely Woman was then in the Bloom of Life; but it is harsh to suppose she could abandon herself to a wild, and at that time, infamous Youth, one of the Murderers of her loved *Cassius*; and the more so, that no length of Time could make her Spirit bend, or bring her over to the *Cæsarean* Pliancy. For though she lived to a great Age, (through all the long Reign of *Augustus*) and survived her Husband *sixty-four* Years, yet she made a Will as if Liberty and the *old Republic* had been in full Vigor. 'It gave occasion to much Discourse, says *Tacitus*, that so long a Space could not efface the Impressions of Youth: for in enumerating the great Men, who had done any remarkable public Service in her Life-time, and making honorable mention of the greater part of the *Nobility*, she said not a Word of *Tiberius*, though then in possession of the Empire.' *Cicero* regrets the Loss of a young *Cassius*, through her miscarrying, a little before her Husband's Departure, whom she never saw any more.

Here it may not be improper to look backwards, and to observe that these were the *two Ladies* courted by Pompey, when he returned the greatest Man in *Rome*, after his Eastern Expedition. The eldest he demanded in Marriage for himself, and the younger for his Son. Upon his Approach to the City, though covered with Glory, and the Idol of the People, he found an unexpected Opposition. Through a Passion for Power he had wormed *Lucullus*, a very great General, out of his Command of the *Mithridatic War*, and reckoned upon him as an undoubted Adversary; but was surpris'd to find the upright *M. Cato* also of opinion, that he (*Pompey*) was grown too great in a free State, and bent upon humbling him. From this Similitude of Sentiments, *Lucullus* and *Cato* contracted a close Friendship; and to strengthen it by an agreeable Alliance, *Lucullus*, who had put away his first infamous Spouse *Clodia*, (the Tribune's Sister and *Catullus's* Mistress)' married the younger *Servilia*, *Cato's* half Sister, whose Adventures we will have occasion to touch upon hereafter. To over-balance therefore this Tie to his Rival, and detach *Cato* from the Interest of *Lucullus*, Pompey propos'd the double Match of the Nieces. He thought by *their* means to have taken off *Cato*, and prevail'd with him to use his Influence in the Senate for the Ratification of his Acts and Establishments in the East, and making

' Celebrated and satirized by that Poet under the Name of *Lesbia*.

good his Grants both to his own Army, and to the States and Princes of *Asia* and *Pontus*. But the Proposal of the double Marriage was no sooner delivered by *Munatius*, *Cato's* intimate Friend, than without a moment's Deliberation! — *Go back*, said he, *Munatius*, *go back and tell Cn. Pompey, that Cato is not to be entrapped by the Female-Part of his Family.*

Upon so abrupt a Refusal, and *Cato's* firm Adherence to *Lucullus*, Pompey rather than be baffled in public, and appear *little* abroad, (where he had lately made the Figure of a *Sovereign*) most unhappily joined Interests with Men very unlike himself, *Cæsar* and *Crassus*; married the former's Daughter, and entered into the Combination that proved in the end fatal to all the three, and at last to the public Liberty: A surprising Instance, upon how slender a Hinge the Fate of an Empire may turn! For had the too inflexible *Cato*^r accepted the proffered Alliance, it would have enabled him to have kept *Pompey* (who was a moral moderate Man) from that pernicious Confederacy, without which *Julius Cæsar* had never grown too big for the Common-wealth, nor driven *Cato* to the fatal Necessity of dying *free*, or living a *Slave*.

Reflections of this kind are apt to appear but *light* to Men of experience, who know the Incertainty of human Affairs, and how small an

^r Hæc, culpâ eorum, qui a Senatu & ordinem conjunctissimum (Equitum) & hominem clarissimum (Pompeium) abalienarunt.

Event may overturn the most plausible Scheme. But their Consequence is *weighty*; since that *Uncertainty* increases in proportion to the Vices of a People. In the happy period of the *Roman* State, when Public-spirit and Integrity swayed the *Senate*, — when Bravery and Independency animated the *People*, and a thirst of Fame fired every *Roman* Breast; no Intermarriages, nor Bonds of Affinity could have affected the Public, or branded the *Virtue-poised Government*. It is *general Corruption* that enfeebles a Nation: makes it depend upon small Accidents, brings the *Conditions* of its Preservation into a narrow Compass, and creates what we call the *Caprice of Fortune*, and the *Mazes* of modern Politics.

Mean while Things in *Rome* were drawing towards a Crisis. The various Passions and opposite Interests of the Governors, put the public Affairs in a convulsive distracted State, which could not be lasting². Antony's Design to domineer, and again oppress the *Roman* Liberty, was become very evident, not only by the Strain of his Conduct, but by the Imprudence, shall I say, or Impudence of his Conversation. He spared no Pains, and much less Money, to gain Men fit for his Purposes: The old Officers, who had served under *Julius*, but especially the Tribunes and Centuri-

² Varius & multiplex motus Civitatis fuit.

Florus.

Ἐν τῇ Πολεὶ πάντα ἐν τε ἀκρασίᾳ πολλῇ ἦν καὶ συνεκέχυτο εἰρήνην ἔτι, καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἤδη.

Δίων.

ons, *Saxa*, *Capho*, *Mustela*, and *Laco*, (the great Drinker) were the People he purchased at their own Price. To a Man of Consequence, he wrote this remarkable Billet, ‘ *Think what it is that you wish to have; — whatever it be, it is assuredly yours*’. A Promise, which plainly showed that he meant to trample upon Law and Justice, and every thing sacred among Men. One of the Tribunes, *T. Canutius*, animated with the Roman Spirit, called upon him to appear and give an account of his Conduct in the Assembly of the People; which at the same time, the Tribune took the liberty to paint in its own Colors. I suppose some one of his Colleagues has been hired to interpose, and prevent the Consul’s being called to a public Account: But on this Occasion he openly said, ‘ *that Canutius wanted a Place in the Favor of those Men, who could have no Place in the Commonwealth, if he lived.*’ At the same time he erected a Statue in the *Rostra*, to his late Patron *Julius Caesar*, with an Inscription.

TO THE WELL-DESERVING FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY; — in whose Steps he was indeed treading to the utmost of his Power. But as wild Ambition involves Men in great Contradictions, while he was professing such Veneration for the *dead Caesar*, he was exercising mortal Enmity with his adopted Son. Their solemn Reconciliation in the *Capitol*, (as it were under the Eye of almighty Jove) was

‘ *Quid concupiscas tu videris: quod concupiveris certe habebis.*

mere

mere Farce: Each found the other the chief Bar in his Way to his wholly gaining the *Army*, upon which they knew all Power depended, and therefore pursued one another's Ruin with equal Rancor and Violence.

The young *Cæsar* had no *Right* either to raise an Army, or intermeddle with any public Affairs: He was not yet of Age to be elected into any *Magistracy*, being scarce nineteen; and his levying Men by his own Authority, would, in better Times, have been pursued as a capital Crime against the Peace and Liberty of the Common-wealth. He was therefore advised to express no Resentment against *Brutus* and his Friends, nor any Purpose to avenge his Father's Death; but on the contrary to apply himself particularly to the *Heads* of the Republican Party, in order to obtain, through their Interest, a *legal Command*, authorized by the *Senate* and *People*. M. Cicero was then the leading Man in the *Roman Senate*. In the Height of *Antony's* Power, while he was besetting the Senate-house with armed Barbarians, and filling *Italy* with his Legions, *Tully* first retired into the Country, and then resolved on a Journey to *Greece*; both to avoid Danger, and to spend the Time, till that furious Man's Consulship should expire, when *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, his apparent Friends, were to come in his Place.

This Resolution will appear less timorous, if we recollect what Returns were made to Brutus and Cassius, the Deliverers of their Country for the highest Service; and how they were passing

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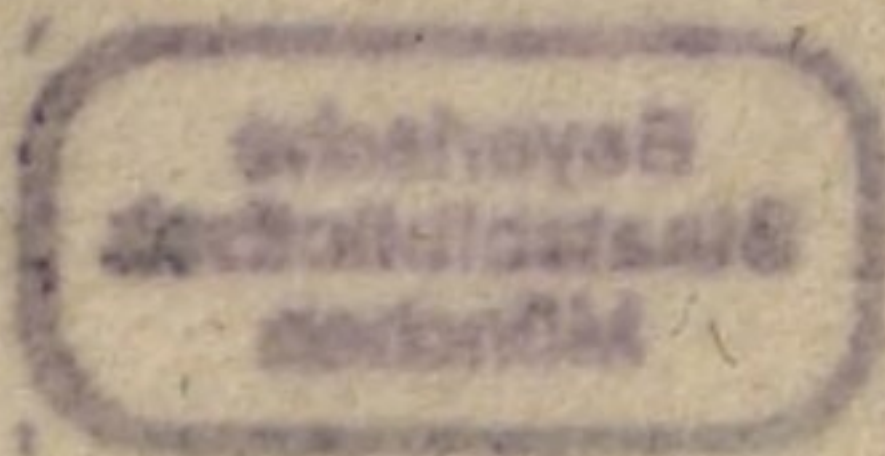
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their Time. It was in Retirement, and in the irksome State of Doubt and Irresolution. They could not bring themselves to believe, that the Romans would tamely submit to such a Master as *M. Antony*; and therefore still expected that some favorable Conjunction would offer to re-settle Matters, and procure them an honorable Return^{*}. But they found by Experience, that it is not *mere Reputation*, nor the highest Fame of Bravery, Integrity and Honor, that can of itself keep Dependencies; or hinder the Run of Affairs from deviating into another Channel: If a Man is not actually *in place*, and has it not immediately in his Power to do Good or Ill, most People will lose sight of him, and turn their Eyes upon those from whom they look for substantial Services. In effect, these Heroes passed their Time pretty solitary in the Country; while both *Antony's* Levee was crowded at *Rome*, and those very Men were courted and feared, who had been *Cæsar's* chief Instruments in accomplishing that for which he lost his Life.

This strange Turn, which Things took at that Time, seems to establish the Opinion, *'That the Design against Cæsar was not formed upon Views of Interest or Ambition; but that he was killed by Men of high Spirit, brave and bold, but unacquainted with Mankind's worst Sides; — by Men bred in Camps, generous and open, and the greater*

^{*} Cn. Luceius, qui multum utitur Bruto, narravit illum valde morari, non tergiversantem sed expectantem, si quid fortè Casu. —

M. T. Cicer. Lib. XVI. Ep. 5.



‘ Part of them either ignorant of those Methods we
‘ call Politics, or guided by a noble Principle,
‘ and to more excellent Ends.’ In reality, — the
leaving *Antony* and *Dolabella* in quiet Possession of
the supreme Power, the conniving at *Lepidus’s* seizing
upon the High - priesthood, and the confirming
Cesar’s Deeds and Grants, were capital Errors in
Conduct. It was in effect to resign their Part in
the Administration, and leave themselves at the
Mercy of *Cesar’s* Creatures, by leaving in their
Hands both the specious and real Parts of the
Government. This is so true, - and the Conse-
quences it had were so fatal, that one can scarce help
being of *Cicero’s* Mind, that in the glorious Un-
dertaking of delivering their Country, they had
contrived like Boys what they acted like Men.

It was long before Brutus could take the Reso-
lution of having Recourse to Extremities; and
though, in consequence of the Consultation at
Antium, he was gathering a little Fleet in the
Mouth of the *Alente*, yet his Eyes and Thoughts
were still towards Rome. He would fain have
seen a Sense of Liberty revive, and judged if there
was any live Spark of the Roman Spirit remaining,
it would show itself at the *Apollinaria*; solemn
Games celebrated in the Beginning of July to the
Honor of *Apollo*: The People used to be much
delighted with these public Spectacles, and as they
were given by the *Pretors*, he knew not what Ef-
fect it might have, when they saw a grand Enter-
tainment given by the Deliverers of Rome, at
which they themselves durst not be present. He

was at pains to have them made as magnificent as possible, both by the Diversity of the Shows to be exhibited, and by the Reputation of the Players, who were to act the various Kinds of the *Drama*. He heard that *Canutius*, not the Tribune, but a *Greek Comedian*, in great Vogue at that Time, was at *Naples*; and wrote to his Friends, by all means to persuade him to go to *Rome*. Some of the wild Beasts exhibited in the Amphitheatre used to be spared, and reserved to other Occasions; but he gave Orders to spare none of them, but kill them all for the Diversion of the People. He wrote to *M. Cicero*, entreating him to honor his Games with his Presence; and a great Part of the Management and Direction of the Exhibition fell upon their common Friend *Pomponius Atticus*'. The Games were accordingly grand and entertaining. There was a crowded Audience at the *Latin Play*, and old *Accius* received high Applause threescore Years after he was in his Grave; it was his *Tereus* that was acted, a Tragedy that seems to have affected the *Roman Ear* as much as *Hamlet* has the *English*; and was not the less gracious at this Time for the sake of the Giver. The Clap was universal; from the Nobility, the Gentry, and the common People; and many an Ac-

' Appian says, that *Caius* (it should be *Lucius*) *Antony*, the Consul's Brother was to give these Games in *Brutus's* Name, καὶ τ' ἄλλα τῷ Βρῦτι τῆς στρατηγίας ἐπιτροπεύων ἀπόντι, and managed the other Part of *Brutus's* Pretorship in his Absence. *Appian* is inaccurate, and partial to the *Cæsareans*.

' Hor. ad *Pison*. Lin. 56.

clamation to the noble *Brutus*⁷; but as it had happened formerly after *Cæsar's* Death, they contented themselves with *empty good Wishes*, without doing any Thing for their own or their Deliverer's Security. — In the Letter which he wrote to *Cicero*, he had, besides the Games, touched a little, though reservedly, upon the State of Affairs: *Tully's* Account of it is, “ That some *Flashes of Manhood* “ would at Times break from him; Which what they “ meant, he sent the Letter to his Friend *Atticus*, “ that he might judge for himself.” A slight Hint, — which yet I thought as proper to show the *Situation of Brutus's Mind*, and how untainted he was with Ostentation, or a Thirst of Power, as some weightier Matters. *Atticus* and *Cicero* were his intimate Friends; Men with whom he needed to use no Caution in speaking of the Business of Liberty, or of opposing such a Profligate as they all knew *M. Antony* to be. However, to make their Sense of Things public, and give a Reason for their Retirement, *Cassius* and he emitted a conjunct Edict; where, after representing their Danger, from the *Veterans* levied by the Consul, they declared, “ That they pretended to no other Recompence for “ delivering of their Country, but the conscious “ Glory of the Service they had done, and Safety “ for themselves; that as it was the Consul's Duty to “ keep the Peace, they demanded the secure Exer- “ cise of their Office of Town Pretors. But never- “ theless, if even this was not to be granted, they

⁷ A summis, infimis, mediis, denique ab universis.

Cicero Philip. I.

“ declared they would quit their Right , and give up
 “ their Dignity , rather than give the smallest Handle
 “ for a civil War : and , in fine , That they would
 “ willingly go into perpetual Exile , if their doing so
 “ could preserve the public Tranquillity.” — Such an
 Edict could not be drawn , nor the Danger such
 Men were in described , nor the reasons of it
 deduced , without exposing *Antony* and his Manage-
 ment to Reproach and Envy , He first published
 a virulent Edict in Answer to theirs , and then
 wrote them a threatening Letter , to which they
 made the following Return.

M. BRUTUS and C. CASSIUS *Pretors* ,
 to M. ANTONY *Consul*.

“ WE have received a Letter from you , which
 is entirely of a piece with your late Edict , full of
 Insolence and Threats , most unworthy to have
 been written to us by you. We , *Antony* , have
 done you no Wrong ; nor could we imagine you
 would think it strange , that Men of our Charac-
 ter , and *Pretors* , should make a public Requi-
 sition of Protection from the *Consul* : If it offends
 you that we dared to do such a thing , give us
 Leave to complain in our turn , that *Brutus* and
Cassius should be of so little Account with you as
 to begrudge them that poor Privilege. You refuse
 that ever you charged us with inlisting Men ,
 raising Money , tampering with the Legions , or

sending Messages beyond Sea; and we can take it upon your Word, that it was with a good Intent you did not mention these Things; But at the same time neither do we acknowledge any of them to be true, and are extremely surpris'd, when you were able to suppress such a Charge, that you had so little Command of your own Temper, as to upbraid us with *Cæsar's* Death.

But what we wish you to reflect upon is this, how it can be endured, that *Pretors* may not declare by Edict, *That for the sake of Peace, and the public Liberty, they voluntarily recede from their undoubted Rights, without the Consul's threatening Violence, and military Execution?*

You may however persuade yourself, that *Threats* are very ill employed upon us, whom of all Men it least becomes to bow before Danger; nor ought *Antony* to demand to domineer over those, by whose Means he himself is not a *Slave*. Were there *other* Reasons of sufficient Weight to make us engage in a civil War, it is not a *Letter* that would deter us: for Menaces have small Effect upon free Men. But you well know that we are immoveable in our Purpose of steadily pursuing the Welfare of *Rome*, and for that Reason, perhaps, affect to carry it high, that what is our fixed Choice may seem Weakness and Fear.

We *Antony!* are of that Disposition as to wish that you may be great and honorable in a free State: We call you to no Feuds, nor denounce any Enmity against you; but be assured at the same Time, that we rate our Liberty far higher

than your Friendship. Do you consider, and consider thoroughly, both what you undertake, and what you can perform; and remember, not how long *Cæsar* lived, but how short a Space he enjoyed his ill-gotten Power. We pray the Gods, that your Conduct may be for the Good of your Country, and for your own: But if that cannot be, that it may harm you as little as is consistent with the Safety and Honor of the *Roman State*."

This Letter being likewise made public, was a new Proof of the Integrity and Resolution of the Pretors; who saw at last there was nothing to be expected from legal Methods, and were therefore forced to take the necessary Steps for securing themselves and the Common-wealth. They resolved to pay no regard to the Acts extorted by *Antony* and his *Veterans*, stripping them of their Provinces; but to take possession of *Macedon* and *Syria*, according to the first Destination. With these Intentions, though not publicly declared, each of them was preparing a small Squadron of Ships for transporting themselves, and a Retinue suitable to their Rank and Character. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if M. Cicero chose likewise to retire: He was of a delicate Turn, quick Sensations, and ill-formed to bear the Shocks of Business. When he was Governor in chief, and almost absolute in his Province, he appears to have been hurt by the *Impertinence*, *Insolence*, and *Folly* of those he governed*. A Temper hardened by

* Angor intimis sensibus, ita tam multa vel iracundè,

Nature or Use is requisite, to prevent our *feeling* the Asperities of impudent Solicitations, or the Rancor conceived upon even a just Refusal. But now, when instead of *Roman* Patricians and People, the thin *Senate*, consisting of *Antony's* Creatures, was surrounded by *Ithyrean* Ruffians, and the *Forum* was filled with *Julius's* bloody Centurions, no wonder if Cicero did not stand the unequal Contest. While he thought himself safe in Italy, he lived privately sometimes at one of his Villas, and sometimes at another, as they lay farthest from *Antony's* Motions; and during this Retirement, he composed some of those Pieces that remain the Wonder of Posterity¹. The Rest of his Time was spent in receiving Visits from the few remaining *Senators* of his own Dignity and Sentiments², and from the ingenious Men³ of the *Cæsarean* Party. With *these last* he was thronged; and as they were professed Admirers of his Learning and Eloquence, and he noways averse to display his Talents, they even prevailed upon him to *declaim* in their Presence. The greater Part of *Julius Cæsar's* Favorites had chosen the Principles

vel insolenter, vel in omni genere stultitiæ, infulsè, arroganter, & dicunter tacenter quotidie.

Lib. X. Ep. 10. ad Atticum.

¹ De divinatione. De natura Deorum. Cato Major, sive de Senectute. Lælius sive de Amicitia. De Officiis ad Marcum. Fil. and a History of his *own Times*, which has unhappily perished.

² Serv. Sulpitius, L. Cæsar, Martius Philip, &c.

³ See Pages 28, 29.

of *Epicurus* in Speculation , and followed their own Inclinations in their Practice. Cicero facetiously said , ‘ *That his Scholars in Eloquence, were his Masters in Eating, — and that he was a bold Man, having ventured to entertain A. Hirtius without a Peacock !* ’

Yet this *high living* (as it is preposterously called) did not hinder the Favorites from either laying their Schemes of Action for the ensuing Year, or from exercising their Genius in Matters of Literature. It was now , that at the pressing Instances of *Cornelius Balbus*, his Friend A. Hirtius undertook to write a Supplement to *Julius Cæsar’s* Memoirs ; and elegantly has he done it to those of the *Gallic* and *Alexandrian* Wars ; the *African* is more hastily written , and the *Spanish* , which for its Importance and the exact Knowledge which Hirtius must have had of an Expedition where he bore Command , should have been the most perfect , is rather a *Diary* than a Memoir ; I suppose partly by his Health’s having broken about this Time , and partly through the Hurry of Business , unavoidably coming upon him with his approaching Consulship. Neither was *Cicero* so immersed in Philosophy as to lose sight of the Common-wealth. To his insatiate Thirst of News, while at a Distance from *Rome*, and to the Intimacy he lived in with the great Men of all Parties , we owe the most valuable Collection of Letters now extant , chiefly written to his Friend *Pomponius Atticus*. To him he plainly told his Sentiments of Persons and Things ; and having many

Opportunities to penetrate into the Inclinations of the old *Cæsareans*, he saw with Grief the desperate Projects of lawless Men to aggrandize themselves, though at the Price of their Country's Ruin: No doubt they would endeavour to conceal them; for who would own, that rather than miss of an ambitious View, he would involve every Thing in Blood and Confusion? But it was hard to dissemble before *Cicero*: he knew Men thoroughly; and had curiously observed the Turn and Temper of *Cæsar's* Minions; he therefore wrote to *Atticus*, 'That
' *Pansa* talked admirably, but was attached to
' *Hirtius*, — would be a good Friend to *Brutus*
' and *Cassius*, if he found it for his Interest; and
' that it was mere trifling to expect a Re-establish-
' ment of Liberty from Men so addicted to Wine
' and Riot'. That as for *Hirtius*, he deeply revered
' *Cæsar's* Memory, — lived with *Cornelius Balbus*;
' was evidently afraid of Peace: and concluded in
' two Greek Proverbs', That his Metal though
' shining was but of base Alloy; and in fine, that
' he was naught at bottom.'

Mean time the young *Cæsar* was not idle. *Julius* had settled the *Veterans* of his *Spanish* Army in two Colonies at *Calvi* and *Caiazzo*, in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. Thither the Youth went with a great Sum raised by the Sale of his paternal Estate, and of that Part of *Julius Cæsar's* that came to him by his latter Will. He took up his Head-

³ Δῆρος πολὺς in vino & sommo istorum:

⁴ Ὁ θησαυρὸς ἀνδρακες, οὐδὲν ὑγιές.

quarters at *Capua*, gave each *Veteran* at the Rate of *Sixteen Pounds* a Man, and to the Officers in Proportion. There he formed a Legion, gave Commissions to the Centurions, and openly prepared for War without Authority from the Senate or People. Conscious of this Defect in his Procedure he paid the most assiduous Court to *Cicero*: he wrote to him twice a Day, — begged they might have a private Conference either at *Capua*, or where-ever *Cicero* should be pleased to appoint. The old Statesman wrote back, ‘ That it was
‘ vain to imagine any Meeting of theirs, at *Capua*
‘ or elsewhere, could be kept a Secret. But
‘ that if the young Man meant well to the Com-
‘ mon-wealth, and to its Deliverers *Brutus* and
‘ *Cassius*, he might be very sure of *his* Friendship.’ The young *Cæsar*, who was still known by the Name of *Octavius*, made ample Professions, — That he and his Troops should be absolutely at the Senate’s disposal; and his Tutors *Oppius* and *Balbus* undertook for his good Affection to the Friends of Liberty. Yet *Tully* still distrusted him, — said it was impossible he should be a good Countryman while beset by so many bad ones, who threatened the better Party with Death and Destruction: and after a little Acquaintance, though he allowed the Youth to have Abundance of Spirit and Capacity, and the Appearance of such Dispositions towards the Deliverers of *Rome* as might be wished, — he still added, That it was a Point requiring great Consideration what Trust was to be put in his Age, and what in his Name, in his Succession; and above

all in his Principles and *Education*. This was *Cicero's* Way of thinking before his Departure for *Greece*.

In Journeys along the Coast the Ancients frequently changed their Way of travelling, and when they came to a Bay, they usually took shipping, and crossed from Point to Point, as the *Italians* do in their *Feluccas* at this Day. If a Promontory jutted out, they took the Land-road, and walked or took Horse; and when obliged to stand out to Sea, they took the Opportunities of all the Islands in their Way, to land and take Refreshments. In this Manner *Cicero*, having avoided the ordinary Road by *Brindisi* to *Greece*, because of a Report of the coming of the *Macedonian* Legions, travelled along the Coast of *Italy*, lodging with Friends that knew his Worth; and then passed over to *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, where he was almost adored for his Integrity while *Questor*, and for procuring them Redress to the Amount of four hundred thousand Pounds, for the Extortions of the infamous *Verres*. Yet to avoid Suspicion, he stayed but one Night at *Syracuse*, and setting sail, was by a westerly Wind put into a small Port called *Punto della Saetta*¹, in *Abruzzo*. He put off again next Day, intending for *Corfu* on the Coast of *Epirus*, but a stiff Gale sprung up at South, and drove him back to the same Place, where he landed about Midnight. — Happily *P. Valerius*, his Companion and intimate Friend, had a *Villa* in that Neighbourhood, where he reposed after his Fatigues at Sea. But

¹ *Leucopetra*, or the *White-stone*.

while he waited a Change of Wind, there came some of the chief Citizens of *Rheggio* to visit him, and among them some lately come from *Rome*, from whom he received the Copy of a Speech made by the Consul to the People.

M. Antony did not yet find himself ready for an open Rupture with the Republic. He knew the deep Root *Brutus* and *Cassius* had with all good Men; and found not so contemptible a Rival as he had imagined in the young *Cesar*. It was his Business again to dissemble. He called an Assembly of the People, spoke favorably of the Common-wealth, moderately of *Octavius*, and made honorable Mention of *Brutus* and his Friends. This gave *Cicero* the first Thoughts of superseding his Journey to *Greece*; in which he was confirmed by the Edict emitted by the Pretors, which came now first to his Hands, and was quite determined by what the Citizens of *Rheggio* added of their own, (as People usually exaggerate either good or bad News) ' That there was to be a very full Senate the first of *August*; ' — that *Brutus* and *Cassius* had written to all the ' Senators of *Consular* and *Pretorian* Dignity to be ' present; — that there were great Hopes Matters ' would be made up, and that *Antony*, having ' rejected the Counsel of bad Men, would recede ' from his illegal Title to the Province of *Gaul*, ' put himself under the Direction of the Senate, ' and *Brutus* and *Cassius* would return with Honor ' to *Rome*'.

' *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

After this, no Carriage seemed quick enough to *Cicero*, to bring him back to his Scene of Action, the *Senate*. He came to *Velia*, now *Castel à mare*, within three Miles of the *Alente*, where *Brutus* was lying with his Fleet, who no sooner heard of his old Friend's Return, than he made haste to walk over to him on foot: Their Meeting was all Joy, and mutual Congratulation; on *Brutus's* part, that *Cicero* had avoided the Reproach of abandoning his Country, of despairing of the public Liberty, and of going at his Age, to *Greece*, to see the *Olympic Games*; an Errand as idle as we would think it to see the *Jubilé* at modern *Rome*. On *Cicero's* part, to find *Brutus* in such high Spirits, hoping so well of the Cause of Liberty, and much better provided than he imagined to support it. Their sole Regret was, that *Cicero* was not present in the *Senate* the 1st of *August*; when *L. Piso* had made a Speech worthy of his Rank and Family; but was seconded by no one Senator, nor did he himself appear in the *Senate* the next day⁷. So low was the Spirit of Patriotism fallen in that once glorious Assembly, whose brightest Lights had been extinguished by *Julius Caesar*⁸!

His adopted Son had now raised and modelled a Body of three thousand *Veterans*, and it was about this Time of *Cicero's* Return that he prin-

⁷ Num quis Pisoni assensus est? num redit ipse postridie?
ad Attic.

⁸ Senatus incolumis, nondum tot *Luminaribus* extinctis.
Philip. II.

cipally pressed to be taken under his Direction and Patronage. The Legions from *Macedon* shipped off by *C. Antony* for his Brother, were landed at *Brindisi*; the welcome News of which no sooner reached the Consul, than he hastened thither by the Way of *Suessa*, to secure them by Largesses to his Obedience. It was the same Troops, whose Officers had waited upon *Octavius* while yet at *Apollonia*, with Proffers of Service after the Dictator's Death; and as the news of the Enmity between him and *Antony* had got before, they gave the latter but a cold reception. He grew angry; upbraided them with Stupidity, and Ingratitude to *him*, who, instead of the Hardships of *Hungary* and *Parthia*, had called them home to the Wealth and Pleasures of *Italy*. This produced nothing but Obstinacy and Silence. He falls into a Rage, decimates them, and commands some Heads to be struck off, as a Terror to others. Even this helps not. — His Fury increases, — he calls for the chief Centurions; sounds them; and finding them sullen, orders them to attend that evening at his Tent; from whence many of them never returned more. It is even said, that the hard-hearted *Fulvia* his Wife, who had accompanied him in this hasty Excursion, stood so near the Executioner, looking greedily on, that her Face was besmeared with the Blood of these unhappy Men, *three hundred of whom* fell a Sacrifice to *Antony's* Fury.

In this Situation of Affairs, the young *Cæsar* consulted Cicero, what he should do? whether he should march straight to *Rome*, with three thousand
veterans

veteran Soldiers; or if he should garrison *Capua*, and shut the Gates upon *Antony* as he passed; or finally, if he should himself hasten to *Brindisi* to the three *Macedonian* Legions marching along the upper Coast *, who he hoped were wholly his own? These, he said, had refused a Donative from *Antony*,—had reproached him with Ingratitude to *Cæsar*, and abandoned him in the midst of his Allocution, or military Harangue to the Soldiery. *Cicero* advised him to go to Rome, where he would both have the *Commonalty* on his Side, and, if he proved true to his Professions, even the Friends to Liberty and the Common-wealth. But *Cicero's* Mind is no where so fully painted as in this short Letter to *Atticus*.

“ I Have now two Couriers a-day from *Octavius*. What he entreats is, that I should go directly with him to *Rome*, as it is his Resolution to act under the Authority of the *Senate*, and by my Direction. I have let him know there could be no Senate held before the first of *January*; which I believe is true. In short, he is earnest and pressing, and I am irresolute: I have no Confidence in his Years—I do not fully know his Intentions, and will do nothing without your Friend *Pansa*. I am afraid lest *Antony* grow powerful,—and do not chuse to go far from the Sea-Coast: at the same time I am uneasy lest

* Of the Adriatic, called *Mare Superum*.

An Mare quod *supra* memorem, quodque alluit *infra*.
Virg. Georgic. II.

some grand Stroke should be struck in my Absence. *M. Varro* does not like the Youth's Design: I do: He has a Body of hardy Troops, — may be joined by *Brutus*; and carries on his Affairs openly. He musters at *Capua*; pays his Men regularly; War I see is at hand. Your Opinion of these Matters. —”

Atticus's Opinion was, ‘That if *Octavius* became powerful in the State, the Acts of the Tyrant (*Julius Cæsar*) would be much more firmly ratified than by the Senate's Decree made in the Temple of the Earth¹; which must prove prejudicial to Brutus and his Friends in the Issue.’ To this Cicero answers, *Many a masterly Observation have you made in the Way of Politics; but never one more so than in your last Letter. ‘For though, as you say, that Youth could finely repel Antony at present, yet we ought to consider Consequences, and what his Power will produce hereafter.’ But oh! such a Speech to the People, (a Copy of which was sent me) what a Piece it is! he there swears, so may the Gods enable him to attain the same Honors with his Parent Cæsar! — and at the same Time stretches forth his Hand towards the Statue², — may I perish rather than owe my Safety to such a Creature³!*

But the Turn which Affairs took soon after, did not permit this good Man to act up to his Resolutions. Antony, enraged at the ill Reception he had met with from the *Macedonian* Legions,

¹ See Page 15.

² See Page 133.

³ Μηδὲ σωθῆναι ὑπὸ γε Τούτῳ!

finally threw aside the Masque. It stung him deep to find the young *Cæsar* more gracious with the Soldiery than himself, and he wrecked his Fury upon some Agents employed by *Octavius*, whom he found Debauching his Troops, and put them instantly to Death at *Suessa*. Then, as if a foreign Enemy had been in the Heart of *Italy*, and threatening the City with Fire and Sword, he picked out a *Pretorian* Band of a thousand Men, put *Cæsar's* famous *Alauda*, or *Lark-Legion*, under Arms, and marched with fierce Intent towards *Rome*.

It was *Treason* by the *Roman* Laws, for any Man to enter the City with an armed Force, except on Occasion of a *Triumph*, by Permission from the Senate, or by their express Order in Cases of higher Exigency. The young *Cæsar* therefore ordered his Troops to rendezvous without the Town, and sent a Detachment forward to *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*; he cantoned another Body, which he had raised in a latter Progress northward, about *Ravenna*, to be in the Way of the Legions from *Macedon*, of whom he had good Hopes, and who were holding their route through the *March of Ancona* towards *Rimini* on the *Gallic* Border. But *Antony* contemning the Laws, entered the City in armed State. The *Legion* and his Cavalry he left in the Suburbs; but marched in himself, surrounded by his *Pretorian Guards*, under *Saxa* and *Capho* their Captains. They did Duty about his House all Night, relieved their Sentries and gave out the Word, while *Saxa* and

Capho ostentatiously showed their Swords, as if encamped in the Face of an Enemy. The City was in great Consternation: his natural Violence, and rapacious Guards made many lay their Account with Rapine and Murders: several Citizens, with their Wives and Children, were beginning to abandon their Habitations, and fly to *Brutus*; while others were putting themselves under the Protection of *Octavius*: for Antony, sitting at the Temple of the Twin Gods, *Castor* and *Pollux*, had insultingly threatened, *That none but the Victors must expect to survive the impending War.*

Yet M. Cicero, at his Return to *Rome*, made a noble Stand for Liberty. Amidst a Crowd of corrupt or fearful Senators, he bravely asserted the Rights of the Republic, and exposed the Conduct of the Consuls, their Invaders. He shone in the Senate, by a Series of inimitable Speeches, sometimes spoken to the *Fathers*, sometimes in the *Rostra* to the whole People, which, in Imitation of the Discourses made by *Demosthenes* against *Philip*, (the Invader of the *Grecian* Liberties) *Cicero*, maintaining the same glorious Cause, pleasantly called his *Philippics*. By the first of these, having highly incensed *Antony*, who now approached with the Legions, he was under a *Necessity* of either abandoning his Cause and Country, or of making up Matters with the young *Cæsar*: for who else could have sheltered him from armed Fury? It was this *Necessity* that cleared his Doubts, and cured his Irresolution; while the Youth's good Behaviour, in regard to the

Republic and its Friends, gave the best Hopes of him for the future. A strong body of his *Veterans* was posted in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and a much greater was ready to march upon the shortest warning. These drew *Respect* from *Antony*. Wild as he was, he thought it not proper to draw the Sword first upon *Cæsar's* Son, whose very Name, he saw, won the Hearts of the Soldiery: he found it necessary to check his Nature, and take *other* measures to ruin his Rival. Having therefore called his chief Officers together, he produced some of his People, who averred in their Presence, that they had been bribed by the young Man to murder the Consul in his own House; and what they said was true*. Then he emitted an Edict or Proclamation, laying the worst of Crimes to his Charge, 'That he had
'merited his Adoption by the most *infamous*
'*Complacency* to his Grand-Uncle;—that he was
'gathering a Band of Fugitives and Robbers like
'another *Spartacus*: and (despising both his Person
'and Family) reproached him with his Great
'Grandfather's having been a *Rope-Maker*, the
'Son of a Slave; and his Grandfather a *Banker*:
'that his Mother's Grandfather was originally a
'Moor from *Africa*, who had first set up a *Perfu-*
'mer's Shop, and then turned Baker in *Arezzo*'.

* *Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum, & probant.*

M. Cicer. ad Cornificium.

He next called a *Senate* against the twenty-second of *November*, and prevailed with a Man of his own Stamp, a Creature of the late *Cæsar's*, and Consul of his making, (I suppose *Fufius Calenus*) to prepare a Decree 'declaring the young *Cæsar* 'an Enemy to his Country.' The last Sentence of this Edict was 'That if any Senator did not 'attend that Meeting, all the World might look 'upon that Man as the Author of the most desperate Counsels, and the Plotter of his (*Antony's*) 'Destruction'. This was aimed at *Cicero*: but after this high Menace, whether through Debauch or Business I know not, the Consul himself kept not the Meeting, nor came that Day to the Senate: he prorogued it to the twenty-sixth, and appointed them then to assemble in the *Capitol*. At the same time, to make sure Work, he threatened three of the bravest Tribunes, whose *Negative* he dreaded, with immediate Death, if they dared to look near the Assembly; these were *Q. Cassius*, the Pretor's Brother, *T. Canutius*, and *D. Carsulenus*, Friends, we may be sure, to *Liberty* and *Rome*.

But that very Morning, unwelcome News was brought him, that the *Martian Legion*, one of the four from *Macedon*, whose Centurions he had murdered, instead of keeping the Route he had given to *Rimini*, had turned short to the left, marched towards *Rome*, and taken Possession of the fortified Town of *Alba*. This first staggered his Resolution about the young *Cæsar*; however, being haughty and headstrong, he would not desist: but while he was stepping out of his House

to proceed to the *Capitol*, another Courier arrived, with Accounts that the Fourth Legion had followed the *Martian's* example, deserted the assigned Route, and under the Conduct of *L. Egnatuleius* their Tribune had joined the Troops levied by *Octavius*. This confounded him: his Courage fell, he dreaded the Desertion of the whole Army: — appeared in the *Senate* in visible Disorder: spoke a few confused Sentences of a solemn Thanksgiving, (what the *Romans* called a *Supplication*) to be appointed to the Gods for the Success of *M. Lepidus* against some *Spanish* Nations whose Faces he had never seen, nor set his foot in their Country. This was quickly huddled up — the Consul was in a hurry: he ran hastily home; and returning that very Evening, flurred shamefully over one of the most sacred and important Parts of his Trust. The Terror of his Arms had reduced that Meeting of the Senate to a handful of his Creatures. With these he set about the solemn Distribution of the Provinces by Lot, to the several *Proconsuls*, *Pretors* and *Questors*, who were to govern them for the ensuing Year. The Manner was to put their Names into one Urn, and the Names of the Provinces into another; and the two Names that were drawn together fixed the Government. At the drawing of this Lottery, *Fortune* was far from blind; for the Lot for every Province fell precisely upon the Man who most wished it. Some Senators he intermixed, such as *L. Lentulus*, *P. Naso*, *L. Philip*, and *L. Cinna*, who regarding their Characters, rejected

the mock Distribution: But the three Brothers, *M. C.* and *L. Antonys*, their Companion *C. Calvisius*, and such others, greedily snatched at the providential Allotment. When this *religious* Performance (for such it ought to have been) was over, he threw aside the Habit of a civil Magistrate, put on the *Sagum*, or Soldier's Dress, and before Day-break posted out of Town to his Army. There was no declared War; no *Pretor* or *Governor* had sent Letters to the *Consuls*, informing them of an Enemy from abroad, or Insurrection at home. Yet the Consul set out in *military* Equipage; — and in so far he but kept his Word: For in an Assembly of the People he was impudent enough to say, 'That when his Consulship was expired, he would still retain his Troops, come to Town armed, and go out and come in as often as he pleased;' which was a direct Denunciation of open *Tyranny*.

But he did not find it so easy as he imagined to perform it. He marched with great Speed towards *Lombardy*, to seize upon it as his Province, and drive out *Decimus Brutus*, who commanded it with four Legions. Traces of Rapine and Devastation every where marked his March. He was immediately followed by the enterprising Youth, who had checked his Fury in *Rome*, and who hated or dreaded him so much, that he was

⁵ Totum iter Antonii, quid habuit nisi depopulationes, vastationes, cædes, rapinas.

willing to join Armies with *Decimus*, the Man who had killed *Cæsar*, rather than not destroy *Antony*. He had indeed received high Provocation: his Claim upon him was for two thousand five hundred Myriads, which, at the lowest Reckoning, amount to *seven hundred and seventy-five thousand Pounds* *. When defrauded of this, a Thirst of Popularity and a Desire to render *Antony* odious, prompted him first to sell his own paternal Estate by *Octavius*, and then to press his Co-heirs, *Pedius*, and *Pinarius*, to part with their Shares of *Cæsar*'s Inheritance, in order to enable him to pay the Debt of the Dictator's Legacy to the People: It was a high Strain of Ambition, to strip himself and his Friends ⁷ for so precarious a Purchase as the *People's* Favor; which however was attended with the more solid Accession of a *veteran Army*. For now the long impending War began to break out openly. *Antony*, in virtue of the Vote he had *obtruded* ⁸ upon the People, was to make himself Master of the *nearer Gaul*; which he knew was not to be done without

* By another Calcul it amounts to upwards of L. 818,339 *Sterl.*

⁷ Some Authors say, that, besides his Co-heirs, he prevailed with his Mother *Atia* and her Husband, *Philip*, to sell their Estates on this Occasion; which his Mother's Advice, and *Philip's* Opposition, make quite improbable.

⁸ M. Antonius Consul, quum impotenter dominaretur, legemque de *Provinciarum permutatione* Per Vim tulisset.

T. Livii Epitom. Lib. cxvii.

coming to Blows with its Governor. His Army already consisted of four Legions, though not complete: two he had levied himself, by his Money and Interest with the Soldiery: two he retained of the *Macedonian* Troops, likewise far from full: and other three he reckoned upon as his own, that were under the Command of Ventidius, a Soldier of Fortune, who had been busy in raising his old Camp-Companions, in hopes of new Confusions, and was now lying on the *March of Ancona*; these made up in all, besides Auxiliaries and his Pretorian Guard, seven Legions, above thirty thousand Men, had they been assembled — But these *veteran* Bodies had been much thinned by Death and Desertion; and one of the Legions from *Macedon*, led by his Brother *Lucius*, was not come up. This brought the Numbers of the two Armies nearer Equality; and had *D. Brutus* and *Cæsar* immediately joined, they would have far outnumbered him. But as *Decimus* and all the Friends of Liberty, had rather stood on the *defensive* than prepared for farther Attempts, they had not made the same Effort to levy Men as its Enemies; and the Conjunction could not be quick or cordial between the Destroyer of the Tyrant and his adopted Son. *Antony* therefore being much superior to *D. Brutus* in *Veterans*, sent him a threatening Message, to evacuate against a certain Day, the Province assigned to him by a *Vote* of the *Roman People*; if not, that he would treat him as an Enemy to the State. *Brutus* answered, that he held the Province

by the Authority of the *Senate*; and at the same Time, threw himself into Modena, a strong and plentiful Town, which he farther fortified, and made Provision of all Sorts as for a tedious Siege. *Antony* enraged, immediately invested the City, threw up Works around it, and by many fierce but fruitless Attacks endeavoured to break into it before Relief should arrive either from *Cæsar* or the new Consuls.

At *Rome*, which wont to be the Source of Counsel, and Soul of the Empire, the *Tribunes* called a Senate on the eighteenth of *December*, to take Measures for better enabling the Consuls to hold their Assembly with Security the first Day of the new Year. But though this was not unnecessary, a higher Concern engrossed their Attention. War was broke out almost in their Neighbourhood, and Armies levied without their Authority and Direction. They must approve or condemn the Leaders. The Province of nearer *Gaul* was full of rich Cities and Colonies, as it is under the Name of *Lombardy* at this Day. The Inhabitants knew *Antony*, dreaded his Government, and declaring unanimously for *D. Brutus*, sent him upwards of eight thousand Auxiliaries. He, on his Part, gave them high Encouragement; and at the same Time published an Edict or *Manifesto*, That he took Arms in order to keep the Province of *Gaul* in the Power of the Senate and People of *Rome*. When the Senate was assembled, where *Antony* had still some Friends, this Edict was laid before them; but the Cause of the Invader was

so bad, and his Conduct so flagrant, that not one Senator spoke in his Favor. It was Cicero who led in the free Assembly: That great Man waved the Consideration of the *Reference* made by the *Tribunes*, and after a long Interval of Silence, and Sentiments suppressed in over-awed Assemblies, he first resumed the Privilege of a *Roman Senator*, and laid anew the Foundations of Freedom in *Liberty of Speech*. He took in the *whole State* of the *Common-wealth* ⁹; represented their imminent Danger on one hand, and the Methods of baffling the base Attempt on the other. He told the Fathers, that Matters were come to that Pass, that either the *Invader* of the Republic must perish, or they must resolve upon living *Slaves*: he conjured them to resume the *Spirit* and *Virtue* of their Forefathers, and either to recover that Liberty which was the peculiar Characteristic of their Nation, or if the fatal Period was come, to prefer a glorious Death to the last and worst of human Ills; he put them in Mind, that they were the *Chiefs of the great Council that governed the habitable World*; and that the *Roman People*, inflamed with Desire of

⁹ Cum Senatum ad XIII. Calend. Januarias Tribuni Pleb. vocavissent, deque aliâ re referrent, totam rempublicam complexus, egique acerrimè, Senatumque jam languentem & defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi — hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum Populo R. attulit Libertatis recuperandæ.

M. T. Cic. Epist. ad Trebonium.

their former Freedom, waited but a *Signal* for Them, to rise unanimous for its Recovery; he concluded with painting *Antony's* Character, and setting the dreadful Consequence of his prevailing in such a Light, that the Senate unanimously went into his Opinion, and passed a Vote, 'That the *Martian* and *fourth* Legions, who had abandoned *Antony* though Consul, had done a legal and laudable Action; they approved of the young *Cæsar's* Conduct, in levying Men for the Defence of the Common-wealth; and ratified the Command of the two *Gauls* to Decimus Brutus and L. Plancus, Generals, to continue, according to the *Julian* Law, until the Senate should name their Successors'.

This Vigor and Unanimity in the Senate raised a similar Spirit among the *Roman* People. It communicated to the nearest Provinces, and spread by Degrees to the distant Parts of the Empire. An universal Ardor showed itself to assert their dearest Rights, resume their Liberty, and restore the Common-wealth. When the Senate broke up, the People rushed into the *Forum*, not as they used to do, when hired to serve some Party-Interest; but in such a Body, as scarce left a Citizen at home. The great Patriot and Statesman who had led in the Assembly of the Fathers, was entreated to mount the *Rostra*, and acquaint the People with the Decrees of the Senate. He began to tell them 'that *Antony*, though not expressly attainted, was in effect judged an Enemy to his Country,'—and was interrupted

by a Shout, declaring that ‘ *he was an Enemy to Rome*’. He told them, ‘ that the Conduct of the *Martian* and *fourth* Legions was approved, who had looked upon *Antony* as no legal Consul’; and was answered with another Shout, That *he was not Consul*. He proceeded to let them know of the Senate’s Thanks given to the young *Cæsar*, the Ratification of the Government of *Gaul* to *Decimus Brutus*, and was beginning to lay open *Antony*’s Character and Designs, when he was again stopt by a Volley of Imprecations against him and his Followers, and a general Acclamation, That *M. Tullius Cicero* had again saved the Roman Common-wealth. Such was the Temper of the Senate and People.

At this Conjunction it appeared what a powerful and commanding Thing *real Virtue* is in its own Nature, what Energy and Strength attend a Rectitude of Mind, and a steady Pursuit of the *Public-Good*. *Cicero* was no *Soldier*, and consequently had no Influence among the *Legions*: he was not very rich, and could not attach by *Largesses*: he was at this Time in no *Office* of State, and could bestow no Favors by Power: and yet — from the Day he durst appear in the Senate, after *Antony*’s Departure, until his Return with the Army, he was beyond controversy the greatest Man in *Rome* ¹.

¹ Quod maximus Consularis, maximum Consulem te, ipse vicisti, & lætamur, & mirari satis non possumus. Fatale, nescio quid tuæ virtuti datum — est enim tua Toga omnium Armis felicior.—Nunc ergo vivemus liberi! nunc Te, omnium

He led in all Counsels—was the Prince of the Senate, the Oracle of the People, the Mouth of Magistrates, and the Idol of every Friend to Liberty and the Common-wealth. Let us not imagine that this supreme Authority could be exercised in a free State by the sole Power of *Eloquence*: no, the greatest Talents in that way, appear ridiculous, when unsupported by real Patriotism. But when joined with that God-like Disposition, that they work the Wonders achieved by a *Demosthenes* and a *Cicero*. 'Twas less the Charm of their Tongues, however powerful, that captivated their Audience, than a firm Persuasion of their being *wise* and *good* Men, truly bent upon serving their Country. This Persuasion procures Attention to the most ungraceful Speaker, and adds Weight to the plainest Words; but when it co-operates with the Force of Expression and Dignity of Gesture, it commands in chief, and inspires an Assembly with the Passion of the eloquent Leader.

Under the Common-wealth, Power was annually shifting, by the Election of new *Magistrates*, that is, of new *Generals* and new *Judges* at home, and new *Governors* of Provinces abroad. The supreme Authority of the Empire was within a few Days to pass into the Hands of the Consuls elect, Men bred in the same lewd School with

maxime civis, & mihi carissime, id quod maximè Reip. tenebris comperisti, nunc Te habebimus testem nostri & in te, & in conjunctissimam tibi Remp. amoris. —

C. Cassius, Epist. ad M. T. Ciceronem.

Antony, (*Julius Cæsar's* Camp) but with equal Spirit and Courage, of more elegant Manners and greater Humanity: *Pansa*, in particular, had not only the Appearance of the Gravity and Firmness of an ancient Senator, but had shown himself a good Man in protecting the *unfortunate Friends* of *Rome* during the *Cæsarean* Calamities. Though War therefore was carrying on, and the Siege of *Modena* was pressed with great ardor, yet the Consuls elect would not trespass upon sacred Forms, nor exercise their Office before the first Day of the new Year. They then entered upon their high Function, and calling a Senate immediately after the solemn Sacrifice, they opened it with a *Reference* to the Fathers concerning the State of the Common-wealth, and (in consequence of the former Act) concerning the *Honor* due to *Decimus Brutus*, and the young *Cæsar*, and the proper *Premiums* to the *Legions* who had preferred the Service of their Country to the Plunder promised by its *Enemy*. On this occasion they both spoke, I need not say eloquently: their Talents and Studies² secured that; but in a Manner *worthy* of *Roman Consuls*: and indeed no Man, who had a *Sense* of Liberty or Honor, and a Prospect of the Means of preventing the Subversion of both, but must equally dread and detest such a Tyrant as *Antony*. Yet as the old Ties of Party are difficultly

² Accedunt Consules summâ prudentiâ, virtute, concordia, multos menses de Pop. Rom. libertate commentati, atque meditati.

broken through, they still kept some measures in speaking of their Predecessor; and *Pansa* followed their late Patron *Julius Cæsar's* Example³, in first asking his Father-in-law *Q. Fufius Calenus* his Opinion upon the Matters proposed to Deliberation. *Calenus* was a true *Cæsarean*, an Enemy to Liberty and good Men; and instead of the vigorous Counsel of commanding the *Invader* to lay down his Arms, and declare him an *Enemy* in case of Refusal, he gave it as his Opinion, that an Embassy should be sent to him with Propositions of Peace. In this he was seconded by *Domitius Calvinus*, and *Q. Calpurnius Piso*. That old proud Patrician, full of his Family, and careless of the Common-weal, had assumed an Air of Independency, and loudly complained of *Antony's* Usurpations in a Speech he had made about a Month before *Cicero's* grand Appearance; but neither had he been seconded by any one Senator, nor had he himself come to the Senate next Day. And now, whether from Envy to *Cicero*, his old Adversary, who led on the august Assembly, or Fear of *Antony*, he made one of the three *Consulars*, (Creatures of the late *Cæsar*) who, after a Struggle of four Days, in spite of *Cicero's* Eloquence, and the good Disposition of the Senate and People, prevailed in that unseasonable Show of Moderation. Wherefore that same *Piso*, along with the worthy but infirm *Servius Sulpicius*, and

³ Post novam affinitatem Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Crassum soleret.

C. Sueton. in Julio, § 21.

L. Philip, were named Commissioners from the *Senate* to *Antony*. Let us leave these three Chiefs of the State going a long Journey, in the midst of Winter, to carry a Message to one of their Subjects, who was making War by his *own* Authority, and look abroad through the other Parts of the Empire.

In Consequence of the treasonable Compact between him and his Colleague, *Dolabella* hastened beyond Sea, to take Possession of *Syria*, the Province he intended to extort from *Cassius*, under Pretence of a Vote of the People *. But he thought fit to take Asia in his Way, which was under the Government of a gallant Man and excellent Citizen, *C. Trebonius* the Pro-consul. He sent before him a *Marsian*, one *Octavius*, (a Senator of *Cæsar's* Creation) with a Legion, that lived at free Quarters in the Province; their plundering, as well as *Dolabella's* own abandoned Character, made the Governor shut the Gates of *Pergamus* and *Smyrna* upon *Octavius*, and only allow him a Market without the Walls: But *Dolabella* coming up himself soon after, in a peaceful Manner, was kindly received by *Trebonius*; and after much familiar Discourse, and many Embraces, took his Leave as on his Way to *Syria*. The Pro-consul however sent a Body of Troops after him, who seeing him march directly forward, and suspecting nothing, returned to Town in the Evening, having

* *Dolabella transmarinas (Provincias) decrevit sibi.*

C. V. Paterc. Lib. II. § 60.

left a Company to watch his Motions; if he should turn out of the Road. These, as soon as it was Night, he surrounded and put to Death; and speeding back to unguarded *Smyrna*, he scaled the Walls, and mastered the Town before Morning. The *Pro-consul*, dreading nothing, was a-bed, and saw the Glance of the Ruffian's Sword before he knew of the least Commotion. Then the furious Traitor rushed into the Room, and after pouring out Gall and Insult on his Prisoner, with execrable Inhumanity delivered him over to be scourged and tortured for two Days, by a Fugitive *Samaritan*, to make him discover the public Money. Trebonius behaved with unshaken Courage under the inhuman Tormentor; and amidst excruciating Pains expired a Hero. His Head was then cut off, and his Body, after being dragged through the Streets, was ordered to be tossed into the Sea. But the brutal *Dolabella*, who had fed his Eyes on the mangled Corpse, as if he had conquered *Asia* by murdering the Governor, flew from Town to Town, levying Men, extorting Money, and plundering where-ever he went. In this manner he had probably over-run all the *Eastern* Part of the Empire, if a Man every Way unlike him, and of whom we shall soon give a particular Account, had not checked his Career.

The Governors of the *Western* Provinces were, *Asinius Pollio* in the farther Spain, *Emilius Lepidus* (the high Priest) in the nearer; *L. Munatius Plancus* in the farther Gaul, and *Decimus Brutus* in Lombardy. To the South, Africa was under *L.*

Cornificius, and Egypt was not yet a Roman Province, but governed by the famous Queen, *Cleopatra*, who had fled terrified from *Rome*, upon the unexpected Exit of her Gallant, *Julius Cæsar*. While the Memory of the Tyrant's Fate was fresh, and the Republic seemed to be in a fair Way of being re-established, every one of these Governors professed themselves good Citizens, and true Friends to the public Liberty; they all wrote to the Fathers, that they and their Armies would be at the Disposal of the Senate and People: But it afterwards appeared that only two of them were sincere, *Cornificius* in *Africa*, and *Decimus* in *Lombardy*: all the rest waiting the Event of the Contest, in Order to declare for the prevailing Party.

But an uncommissioned Captain threatened these Parts with greater Commotions. *Sextus*, the youngest of *Pompey's* Sons, had escaped from the bloody Battle of *Munda*, with his elder Brother *Cneius*: that brave Youth, jumping into a Boat, and happening to entangle his Foot in a Rope, one of his Retinue officiously drew his Sword, and intending to cut the Rope, wounded *Cneius* in the Heel. This disabled him from flying, but not from making a stout Resistance, and dying Sword in Hand, when overtaken by *Cæsar's* Troopers under a Tree near *Carteia*, on the *Spanish* Shore. *Sextus* then retired into the Fastnesses of *Portugal* and *Biscay*, and lived unknown for some Time, the Captain, they say, of a Company of Robbers. But having great Opportunities in that extensive Country (intersected with high Ridges

of Mountains, deep Valleys and great Rivers) to secure himself and his People, he assumed his own Name, very favorable in *Spain*, and immediately the Remains of the noble Army that had fiercely disputed their Liberties with *Cæsar*, resorted to him, and Volunteers in great Numbers from the *Spanish* Towns formerly under the Father's Clientship. He soon became powerful enough to merit the Dictator's Attention, who sent his Lieutenant *C. Carrinas* against him, as to an easy Conquest: But *Sextus* so harassed him with sudden Attacks, stolen Marches, and intercepted Convoys, that *Cæsar* saw the necessity of sending a Leader of more Spirit against the young *Pompey*. He pitched upon the famous *Asinius Pollio*; who had been but a short While in the Province, when the News of the Dictator's Death, blunted the Edge of his Keennefs, and the Turn which Affairs seemed to take, superseded his Commission.

The Account of *Cæsar's* Fate reached *Sextus Pompey* at *Cartagena*, the very Day he had attacked and carried the Town of *Borea*. It is not easy to conceive the Joy that diffused itself through the Camp, or the Revolution that immediately followed throughout *Spain*, Persons of Distinction came flocking to him from all Parts; so that he soon saw himself at the Head of seven Legions; that is upwards of thirty-six thousand Men. In this prosperous State he wrote a public Letter to the supreme Magistracy of *Rome*; in which, after bewailing the Calamities of his Country, he proposed, that in order to restore Peace and Liberty,

all the Armies on foot, under what Leaders soever, should be disbanded. The Letter was only superscribed To the Consuls: But *Philo*, Pompey's Freeman, who brought it, had Orders before it should be delivered, to show it to his Father-in-law, *L. Scribonius Libo* the Senator: *he* brought it over to *M. Brutus*, in the little Island *Nisita*, upon the Coast of *Naples*; where *Cicero* happened likewise to be taking his Leave, when on his Way to *Greece*. That great Orator's Judgment of it is, 'that there were some few Improproprieties in the Language', — but that otherwise, it was written 'with proper Gravity, and not at all assuming.' As it was addressed To the Consuls, who might think fit to suppress what came only to themselves, *Libo* was advised to add, and to the Pretors, Tribunes, and Senate. But though *Sextus* made this peaceful Proposal of *disbanding all the Armies* in public, he wrote privately to his Father-in-law, *that he would treat on no other Terms than of being fully restored to his Father's House and Estate*, now in the Possession of the Purchaser of Forfeitures *M. Antony*.

Upon the Letter's being presented, *M. Lepidus* Prefect of the hithermost *Spain*, who did not care to cope with *Sextus* in the Field, upon Pre-

' *Pauca παρὰ λέξιν; cæteroqui & satis graviter, & non contumaciter* —

' *Ad ipsum autem Libonem scripsit, Nihil esse, nisi ad larem suum reverti liceret.*

M. Cicer. ad Att. Ep. 4. Lib. XVI.

tence of his Relation to him, and of Love of Peace, proposed to restore him to his Country, to invest him with the same Command his Father had exercised at Sea, that is, to make him Lord High Admiral, and at the same Time (to save his Friend *M. Antony*) that the Price paid for Pompey the Great's House and Estate, should be repaid to Sextus out of the Public Treasury. This Proposal was chearfully embraced by the Senate; and the young Man, thinking himself indeed restored to his Father's Honors and Fortunes, and that the civil War was drawing to an End, honestly dismissed his Army, and came by Sea to *Marseilles*. But here, instead of a general Pacification, hearing of the Siege of *Modena*, of the March of the Consul *Hirtius* and the young *Cesar* against *Antony*, he acted in Virtue of his Commission as Admiral, and gathered a maritime Force, which he thought would enable him to give Law to *Italy*, and all along the *Mediterranean Shore*.

But it was in the Provinces lying on the other Side of the *Adriatic* that the greatest Revolution happened. *M. Brutus* had sailed from *Italy* like a private Man, without declaring whether he would go to *Crete*, the substituted Province, or insist upon the Senate's prior Ratification, and go to *Macedon*. He landed at *Athens*, the Seat of ancient Politeness, a Place much favored by the *Romans*, and resorted to by all the young Nobility, and the curious old, as the School of Life and Learning; — Studies less separated then as now. The *Athenians*, through a Series of Misfortunes

and dreadful Calamities, (when the City was taken by *Sylla*) still preserved the Elegance of their Manners, and retained at least, their old Love of Liberty. Such Men therefore as Brutus and Cassius could no sooner arrive there, than the Attention of the City, and indeed of all *Greece*, must turn upon them. The Magistrates received them in a Manner suitable to their Character, and to the *Athenian* Ingenuity; and as it was their Way, to borrow a Grace from the Times of their early Virtue, they decreed, that Statutes should be erected to Brutus and Cassius, and placed next to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had killed *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus*, and relieved *Athens* from Tyranny.

At first Brutus assumed no public Character: he lodged with a private Acquaintance, and passed many of his hours in the Schools of *Theomnestus* the Platonist, and *Cratippus* the Peripatetic, as if, retiring from Affairs, he had come there to philosophize. In this unsuspected Way of Life he had Opportunities to prepare without Noise. He dispatched a trusty Man, *Herostratus*, to sound the Inclinations of the Prefects and Commanders in the adjacent Provinces, *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*; and informed himself what Friends and Enemies bore Sway in the several States of *Greece*. But it had still a more immediate Advantage. When he arrived at *Athens*, the City was thronged with the young Heirs of the first Families in *Rome*, whose Fathers for the most Part had fallen in their Country's Cause, fighting against *Julius Caesar*.

Among these were *Cn. Domitius Enobarbus*, *L. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Labienus*, and *M. Portius Cato*, Youths sufficiently marked by their Father's Fame. But *Brutus* took particular Notice of a Pupil of *Cratippus*, the young Tully, and of another young Gentleman, a Scholar of *Theomnestus**, re-commended more by his Genius and Manners than the Antiquity of his Family. This was *Q. Horatius Flaccus*†, whom he soon intrusted, though scarce two-and-twenty, with the Command of a Legion, that is, between five and six thousand Men. *Brutus* had always about him a Circle of these young Patricians; and the Reputation of his Virtue, and Sweetness of his Temper, easily won youthful Hearts, fond of Honor, and untainted with Knavery; so that when he departed from *Athens*, he left the Schools of the Philosophers very thin, carrying with him the Flower of the remaining Nobility.

But first *M. Apuleius* Pro-questor, that is Vice-Treasurer of *Asia*, returning home with the Revenue of that rich Province, was met at sea by *Brutus* off *Caristo*, on the South Point of *Negropont*. *Apuleius* was an accomplished Man, well affected to the Cause of Liberty, and *Brutus's* particular Friend‡. He both frankly delivered the Treasure into his Hands, and joining Fleets they

* *Q. Horat. Epist. ad Florum. lin. 45.*

† *Q. Horat. Epod. Ode XVI. lin. 12, Lib. I. Satyr. 6. lin. 48.*

‡ *Ἄνδρα χαρίεντα καὶ γνώριμον.*

entered the *Pireo* together with loud demonstrations of Joy. Then marching up to Town, there was a splendid Entertainment prepared for their Reception; and to heighten their Mirth, it happened, as if by Design, to be *Brutus's* Birthday. The Company increased, Healths went round, and as they warmed, Libations were offered to the Gods with Vows for Victory to *Brutus* and *Cassius*: at last Liberty to the Romans was proposed, when, fired with the Name, the moderate *Brutus* called for a capacious Cup, and drank it off to a Health, he thought his best Blood not too dear to purchase. Soon after this, *Antistius Vetus*, the Treasurer of *Achaia*, put upwards of *L. 16,000 sterl.* into his Hands¹; and, which was more valuable, joined himself with all his Interest, to *Brutus*. *Antistius* was a real Roman; he had refused to give *Dolabella*, when he was over-running these Provinces, with Bodies both of Foot and Horse, the smallest Sum; and chose to run all Risques from the Snares of a Ravager, who stood at nothing, than even appear to have been forced to deliver up the public Money to such a Traitor. — By these and such like Means, *Brutus* came soon to be possessed of a well-furnished military Chest: As for the immense Amount, mentioned by one of the old Writers, that he had early amassed upwards of three Millions *ster-*

¹ *Brutus* in his Letters to *Cicero* calls it XX HS. which *Plutarch* expresses in Grecian Money by πενήκοντα μυρίαδες.

*ling*² I take to be exaggerated, or meant for the Time of his highest after-Prosperity. His intermeddling with the public Money was done upon the same Principle as the destroying the Usurper, *To rescue the Republic out of the Hands of its new Oppressors*, and was, in effect, a Declaration of War.

Nor did he delay entering upon Business; but with the Band of noble Volunteers, and the Troops he had got first from *M. Apuleius*³, then from *An-istius*, he marched away through Frost and Snow for *Macedon*, where the Governor *Q. Hortensius*, (the Son of the celebrated Orator) had entered deeply into his Designs, and was busy levying Men for his Service⁴.

M. Junius Brutus, or by his adoptive Name, *Q. Lepio Brutus*, was descended of the first Roman Consul, who expelled the *Tarquins*, whom he was likewise said to resemble in his Looks and Person. By his Mother he had *Servilius Ahala* among his Ancestors, who put *Spurius Manlius* to Death in the *Forum*, when he was aiming at absolute Power. The Family had produced many great

² Καὶ εἶχεν ἤδη χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια τέλαντα.
i. e. 3,049,400 Pounds.

Αππιαν. ἐμουλ. βιβ. γ.

³ *M. Apuleio*, testis est per literas Brutus, eum *Principem* fuisse ad conatum exercitus comparandi.

Philippica. X.

⁴ *Q. Hortensius Procos*, adiutorem se Bruto ad comparandum exercitum, fidelissimum ac constantissimum præbuit — omniaque ejus consilia cum consiliis Bruti conjuncta fuerunt. Ibid.

Men, — *great* when Rome's Virtue was in its Splendor. Among them^l, the Father of our *Brutus*, being surpris'd at Sea in *Sylla's* War, and furrounded by the Enemy's Fleet, set the Handle of his Sword against the Deck of the Ship, and fell upon the Point: though others say he was killed by *Pompey's* Order, then a Commander under *Sylla*. The young *Marcus* early discovered a noble Nature, accompanied with a Sweetness and Humanity that equally fitted him for Arts or Arms; but had intermixed a high Sense of Honor and a *resolute independent Spirit*, (the Mark of a Hero) that rendered him impatient of Wrong, and unable to brook the Appearance of Indignity. With this Turn, he had been happy in falling into the best Hands for his Education; he and his great Friend *C. Cassius* having been taught by *Stabierus Hiera*, a Person of such Generosity and Courage, that during the Heat of *Sylla's* Party-Rage, he ventured to take the Children of the forfeited Families under his Tuition, and taught them *without Fees*. The Youth's Curiosity growing with his Years, left him unacquainted with no School or Sect of the *Grecian* Philosophy; but the Principles of Plato, distinguished by the Name of the old Academy, connecting the Strictness of Morals with the great Ends of Life, best suited his Temper and Inclinations. He listened with Pleasure to the Lectures of *Antiochus* of *Ascalon*, an eminent *Platonist*, and eloquent like his Master; but made a Companion of his Brother *Aristus*, a Man inferior to many Professors of Philosophy in the Talent of speaking;

but equal to the best in the Regularity and Mildness of his Manners'. *Brutus's* Propensity to Wisdom, made him retain many of that Character, (the *genuine* one of a Philosopher) Men equally remarkable for their Integrity, as for superior Knowledge. Among these *Emphylus* was distinguished by a Flow of manly Eloquence, along with better Qualities; and showed that he deserved the Honor of living in Familiarity with his great Patron by a short but accurate Account of *Cæsar's* Death, inscribed *Brutus*, which is unhappily lost. But what moulded the Youth more to Virtue than all their Lectures, was the Conversation and Example of his Uncle *Marcus Portius Cato*. Him he admired as a Pattern of Conduct in public and private Life; and had the happiness to *perceive* the Beauty of his inflexible Attachment to Justice, Liberty, and his Country. Being now capable of Affairs, he was sent for by that great Man to *Cyprus*, to be a Check upon the other Ministers in the Management of the Royal Treasure, and though he undertook the Task with reluctance, (as too mean for a noble Youth to dip in Money-matters) yet he acquitted himself of it so as to merit *Cato's* Approbation. Here he saw the Model of a real Patriot; and, if there be such a Thing among Men, of pure and perfect Virtue'. He saw, and

' Attende quæso Brute, satisne videatur hæc oratio complexa Antiochi sententiam, quam tibi, qui fratrem ejus Aristum frequenter audieris, maxime probatam existimo.

M. T. Cicero. de Fin. Lib. V.

* This high Character, the highest competent to a Mor-

drank deep of that Rectitude of Heart and Conduct that leads straight to Heroism and Immortality. Nor could such a Pattern be set before an abler Imitator. *Brutus*, with a Temper wonderfully mild, had a Nobleness and Elevation of Soul, more frequent in impetuous fiery Spirits, though not so lasting or true. But naturally calm and comprehensive, and little moved by Passion or

tal, was allowed to Cato by all Antiquity, excepting *Julius Caesar*, who did his utmost to deface it. Cicero removed from the *Forum* and Business, by the Usurpation, though he durst not openly condemn the lawless Government, yet indirectly arraigned it and its Author, by writing an elegant Panegyric on their chief Opposer, M. Cato. *Caesar* looked upon the Praises of this illustrious *Roman*, his irreconcilable Enemy, as so many Reproaches upon himself; and having the Ambition to be the foremost of Mankind in *Arts*, as well as *military Prowess*, he took that opportunity at once to vie with the *Orator*, and blacken the *Patriot*. Cicero had inscribed his Panegyric Cato; and *Caesar* called his Answers (for he doubled the Attack) *Anticatos*. He introduced them with high Commendations of the celebrated Speaker against whom he wrote. He compared both his Life and his Eloquence to that of Pericles and Theramenes, two of the greatest *Grecian* Statesmen, and most eminent Orators of their Time; and artfully subjoined, 'That the Public must not look for such a Piece from him, in Point of Language and Rhetoric, as Cicero's eloquent Composition, nor compare the rough Style of a Soldier, who had passed his Life in Arms and Camps, with the Address and Fluency of the most elaborate Orator of the Age.' Plutarch says, 'that he was prompted to write his *Anticatos* rather by Ambition, than any personal Hatred against the Man, whose Memory he was bespattering. — But yet, (which seems not so consistent) that he had poured

Pleasure, he acted from steady and unerring Views of Honor and Duty. Let us revere such Virtue and without despising inferior Accomplishments, or offending those possessed of them, consider its native Consequences. The open generous Heart of a virtuous Man dictates *plain*, and if I may use the Term, *unmollified* Sentiments. He acts fearless what he thinks is *right*, asks roundly what he deems his *due*, and in so doing appears *rough* and *haughty* to those,

Beaten and hack'ney'd in the Ways of Men.

An Infirmary this, if it be one, [to which the greatest and best Men are only obnoxious; who desire

'out abundance of Wrath *', and had amassed a great 'Collection of Accusations against Cato.' I make no doubt but many will be curious to know what could be said against such consummate Virtue, or with what false Colors its Splendor could be obscured? In general, the cunning *Cæsar*, not able to detract from the solid shining Qualities of the virtuous Man, stuck principally to the little Negligences of Life, — Sins against *Politeness*, and *formal Civility*; though, at last, when heated with his Subject, and carried away by Passion, he did not stick, contrary to the Sense of Mankind, to lay the grossest Vices to his Charge. — So that, like the Composures of a late Writer of our own Country †, the *Anticatos* were most elegantly and impudently written. Their chief Heads, so far as we can glean them up, were probably these following.

* Έκχέας ὀργὴν τοσαύτην — ἔγραψεν ἄν, πολλάς ἱνῶς κατὰ τῶ κατωνος αἰτίας συναγαγών.

Πλάταρχ. Καίσαρ.

† Dissertation upon Parties.

nothing but what they are convinced is *just*, and whose Speech and Style partake of the *Strength* and *Gravity* of their Conduct. Whereas a *little Mind*, either vain or vitious, conscious of Cowardice, Deceit, or selfish Designs, is full of Courtesy and Compliments, which it employs as *Blinds* or substitutes for *Realities*. Hence the Imputation of *Haughtiness* to Brutus, and of *Rusticity* to Cato; and hence the Complaints of *Arrogance* and *Incivility* in the former's Letters, made by a delicate Man long admired and immensely flattered by powerful Criminals, whom his Eloquence was daily saving from Death or Disgrace'. But let us stick to Truth: A Mind conscious of no Crime, full of upright Intentions, and of Resolution to execute

⁷ Brutus ad me, etiam cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκονωνήτως solet scribere — Omnino, (soli enim fumus) nullas unquam ad me literas misit Brutus, in quibus non esset arrogans ἀκονωνήτων aliquid — Sed planè parum cogitat, quid scribat aut ad quem.

M. T. Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. VI. Ep. 1. & 3.

HEADS OF CÆSAR'S ANTI-CATOS

I. Cato's Affectation and Singularity in Dress, differing from all the Citizens; wearing *black* instead of *Purple*, walking barefooted, and going in a short Coat without his Gown, to the Forum.

The Romans were become effeminate, and profuse in their Dress, as in every Thing besides; and wanted such a Pattern of Frugality, and Contempt of Fashions foolishly deemed sacred.

II. His Affectation and Ill-manners, in reading in the Senate-House, as if he could study in no other Place.
them,

them, is not apt to *fawn*; and speaks *too strong*, to be extremely *polite*; nor will the Man who depends upon *himself* ever be brought to talk or act with the Courtesy and Complaisance of an humble Suitor or depending Client. Brutus breathing nothing but disinterested Goodness and exalted Sentiments, at his Return from *Cyprus* found his Country on the Precipice, and ready to be torn in Pieces by a civil War. He had been taught to hate *Cn. Pompey* as the Murderer of his Father, and had often met him without deigning to salute him: but now, that he was at the Head of the Senate, standing up for the Laws and Constitution, he viewed him with different Eyes; and sacrificing his private Resentment to the Interests of his Country, he sailed a Volunteer to *Thessaly*, to partake of the Danger of the Decisive Battle. His coming, and coming at that Nick of Time, so surprised and pleased that great Man, that, starting from his Tribunal, he took *Brutus* in his Arms, and saluted him as his Superior. In the Camp, it

Cato kept the Senate-Hours most punctually, minded the Business transacting in it more than any other Senator *. But as the Consuls, or other Magistrates, were sometimes long behind the time of assembling, (employed in Sacrifices or other Ceremonies) and the Meeting was idle the mean while, Cato's insatiate Thirst of Knowledge made him chuse to read rather than prate with those about him.

* Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ καὶ Βουλὴν οὐδεμίαν παρήκεν. — εἰς δὲ Σύγκλιτον εἰσῆλθε τε πρῶτος, καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλάττετο. — ἀπεδήμησε δ' οὐδέποτε Βουλῆς γενομένης.

is known that he spent the Time he was not with *Pompey*, so intent upon Books, that he was busy writing an Abridgment of *Polybius*, the Night before the *Pharsalian* Field. But it is not well known why *Cæsar*, with the sanguinary Order to his *Veterans*, to strike at the Faces of the *Patri-cians**, enjoined his Centurions to save *M. Brutus*; the common Opinion, that he was his Son, being surely a Mistake*; nor is it sufficiently noticed, that he kept afterwards at a Distance from the Dictator, when it was in his Power to have been his Second in the Empire; and only employed his dishonoring Friendship in protecting good Men, and convincing the Usurper by his bold Defence of the great Ally of the *Romans*, King *Deiotarus*, that Brutus was not to be obliged but by

* *Facilem Feri miles!*

* Brutus was but sixteen Years younger than *Cæsar*; and was about twenty at the *Catiline* Conspiracy, when *Cæsar* and *Servilia's* Intrigue was at its height.

III. His *diffident suspicious* Temper; in distrusting *Canidius*, and intending *Munatius* should be a Check upon him in his *Cyprian* Commission; and then in writing for *Brutus* to be a Check upon both.

Considering the Roman Manners, and the Nature of the Employment (*intermeddling with the Treasures of a King, and the Wealth of his Wardrobe*) this Conduct, instead of Censure, deserves Admiration.

IV. His Ingratitude and *Churlishness* to the same *Munatius*, his great Friend and Admirer, insomuch as to drive him from *Cyprus* in high Disgust.

The Story is this: *Munatius*, through Negligence or Accident, had been late in coming to *Cyprus*, and landed

restoring the Common-wealth. But in a little while, as Julius made it plain by all his Words and Actions, that so just a Design was far from his Thoughts; that, on the contrary, all his Measures tended to rivet the Chains of Slavery upon a free People, this noble Roman formed and executed the glorious Resolution of delivering his Country, with a

long after Cato. At his Arrival, he found the Lodgings assigned to him but mean, (probably the Fault of the Quarter-master) and when he went first to wait upon the Pretor, found him shut up with Canidius, taking Inventories, and was refused Admittance. — Under these Prejudices, he thought his Reception afterwards but cold. — He complained particularly of the Preference given to Canidius; and received for Answer, — That Canidius's early Arrival, — his Acquaintance with King Ptolomy's Affairs, and his now approved Fidelity, gave him a good Title to that Employment. Munatius took the Answer in ill Part, as a Preference of (Canidius) a new Man, to an old and tried Friend, — refused to come and dine with Cato when invited, — or to attend at the Council next Day when called to it. At this Cato grew angry in his turn, — threatened to take Pledges of him for Attendance (as the Law prescribed the Commanders in chief to do to a Recusant) and Munatius, in contempt of his Threats, sailed away in great Wrath for Italy. Here was no Distrust, or ill Usage of his Friend; but at bottom a sort of Love-jealousy in Munatius, that any Man should stand higher in Cato's Thoughts than himself. The Disgust blew over, — their Friendship cemented closer than ever, — and Munatius wrote Memoirs from which the excellent Thrasus Pætus (Virtue, as Tacitus calls him, in human Shape) afterwards composed his Life of Cato.*

* Καὶ γὰρ Μενάτιος σύγγραμμα περὶ Καίωνος ἐξέδωκεν, ᾧ μάλιστα ὠμότηας ἐπηκολέθησε.

Dignity and Heroism that has rendered his Name the *Terror of Tyrants*, and *Boast* of the Free.

No sooner therefore was it heard that M. Brutus had drawn the Sword, and was in Motion, than the Remains of the Senatorial Army that was broken at *Pharsalia* roused, and ranged themselves under his Banners. *L. Piso*, Lieutenant to the new Governor C. Antony, was leading a Legion to his General; but being met by the young Cicero, the Soldiers abandoned *Piso*, put themselves under the brave Youth's Authority; and not long after, *Brutus*, admiring the Spirit, Capacity, and Hatred of Tyranny, that appeared in the young Tully, gave him the Command of his whole Cavalry. It had been concerted between *Antony* and *Dolabella*,

V. His Ambition, in taking upon him the Inspection and Control of *Elections* which belonged solely to the *Consuls*, or in their Absence, to the *Magistrate* next in Dignity.

It was one of the Wonders wrought by his known Integrity, that rival Candidates should pay greater regard to, and put more Confidence in his private Determination than in the Judgment of the highest Tribunals.

VI. His Avarice: of which *Cesar* pretended to adduce three Proofs. I. His parting with his Lady *Marcia*, as a Bait to the rich *Hortensius*, and taking her back with a large Jointure, or Marriage-Settlement, after his Death. II. His having caused the Ashes of his Brother *Cepio* to be sifted, for the melted Gold of the Ornaments burnt with his Body on the funeral Pile. III. His embezzling the *Cyprian Treasure*, and neither bringing home any Account of the *Specie*, or Inventory of the *Royal Furniture*.

As to the *first*, upon what Motive he was prevailed with to give up a Lady he approved, I cannot pretend to tell. But it is certain, he took her back to govern his Family, and

that the *Infantry* annexed to *Syria* because of the report of a *Parthian War*, should be transported to *Italy*, but that the *Horse* should be retained by *Dolabella*. They were accordingly marching in two Squadrons, one under *Cor. Cinna*, another under *Dolabella's* *Questor*. The first quickly deserted their Leader, and joined *Brutus* in *Theffaly*: the other Body gave themselves up to *Cn. Domitius*, a young Man worthy of his high Descent, in the same Manner as *Piso's* Legion had done to *Cicero*. At the same Time *Brutus* being informed, that a Magazine of Arms, which *Cesar* had prepared for his *Parthian Expedition*, was at *Dimitriada*, and

look after his Affairs, when he was upon the Point of going beyond Sea to the unhappy civil War. The *second* is mere Calumny. His excessive Fondness for his Brother, and immoderate grieving for his Death, seems to have been *Cato's* Foible, (if it was one) which put him upon rearing a splendid Tomb for him in the *Forum of Enos* in *Tbrace*, where he died, and employing more than *L. 1500* on the Building. The Princes and States all around sent Gifts (Money, Spices, Vestures) to honor the Funeral of the deceased; whereof *Cato* returned the Money, paid for the Perfumes and Draperies, and at the dividing the Succession with his little Niece, stated nothing of the immense Expence of the Funeral. The *third* is of a piece with the second: *Cato* was at incredible Pains in saving all the King of *Cyprus's* Effects, in making them turn to the highest Account, by preventing all Fraud among his own Servants, and all Collusion at the Auction: But was unfortunate, in two Copies of his Accompts which he intended as *Patterns of Exactness*, being lost; one at Sea, with his Secretary *Philargyrus*, and the other burnt with his own Tent, in the middle of the Market-Place of *Corfu*.

ready to be shipt off for *Antony*, he hasted thither, and seized it as a great Acquisition in the Beginning of a War. Then turning northwards, he marched up to *Macedon*, and formed two Legions of the Men raised by *Hortensius*, partly *Romans*, and partly *Macedonians*, whom he trained in the *Roman Discipline*: But hearing that *C. Antony* was come in person to possess himself of *Macedon*; (by the same Right his elder Brother was invading *Lombardy*) and that not contented with *Macedon*, was endeavouring likewise to seize upon *Illyricum*, and make himself Master of the Troops (Part of *Vatinius's* Army) that were lying about *Apollonia* and

VII. His Pride and *Rusticity* in taking no Notice of the *Consuls*, *Pretors*, *Senate*, and better part of the *People*, standing upon both Sides of the *Tiber* to view his Return.

The *Consuls* and *Pretors* were not there as *Magistrates*, nor the *Fathers* as a *Senate*. It was Curiosity that clad the Banks of the River with Citizens of all Ranks, to see *Cato* returning with the Royal Gallies of *Cyprus*. The Affectation of slight Popularity was become one of the Vices of *Rome*, and had need of Contempt poured upon it, when it was not the Produce of public Service and eminent Virtue.

VIII. His Partiality; in accusing *Licinius Murena* of Bribery and Corruption in the Consular Elections, and passing over *D. Silanus* the other Candidate, equally guilty, because he was his Brother-in-law.

If this be true, it is the Blemish of *Cato's* Life, and of that Virtue that most exalts Mankind, *Justice*. But *Plutarch*, upon whose Testimony the Fact stands. is by no means an exact Author; and I cannot doubt but some Circumstance is suppressed, which if known, would set the Matter in quite another Light. I am likewise apt to believe, that *Julius* would make but slender Use of this Handle against *Cato*. His

Durazzo, *Brutus* made Haste to assemble his Forces, and undertook a quick and terrible March across a rugged mountainous Country, in the most inclement Season of the Year. Here it was that the Accident happened which endangered his Life. Near *Durazzo*, and far before his Equipage, he was seized amidst the Snows with the *Bulimia*, and fainted for Want of Food. His Guards ran up to the Gates of the Town, to ask a Loaf of the Sentinels for the General; and they hastened to supply him with Refreshments, as if he had been their own Commander; a Piece of Humanity of which both they and the Inhabitants soon reaped the fruits when the Town fell into his hands. For

Regard for *Cato's* Sister, *Silanus's* Wife, was well known, and dwelling too long upon so tender a Point, might throw a Ridicule upon his whole Performance.

IX. His Pusillanimity in quitting Sicily during the civil War to *Asinius Pollio*, when he could easily have held it, — and made it a Refuge to his *Senatorial Friends* †.

Cato viewed the civil War in a different Light from the Chiefs of either Party: To him it appeared a Calamity of the deepest Nature, not to be alleviated by the Victory's inclining to *this* Side or the *other*. To save the Citizens of Rome, was the single Point he drove at. With *this* View he always dissuaded *Pompey* from hazarding a Battle, and with *this* View, he chose to give up a Province he could have retained, rather than spill Roman Blood in a *Bye-cause*, that, lost or won, could have little or no Influence on the grand Decision.

† *Concurfus Siculorum* ad *Catonem* dicitur factus; orasse ut resisteret, omnia pollicitos; commotum illum, delectum habere coepisse: non credo — potuisse certe tenere illam, provinciam scio. — *Cato*, qui *Siciliam* tenere nullo negotio potuit, & si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent, *Syraculis* profectus est, ante diem viii. calend. Maii.

Cicer. ad *Attic.* Lib. X. Ep. 13. et 17.

the infamous *Vatinius*, deformed in Person as in Mind, who by the basest Services had wriggled himself into Power, was obliged by his Officers to open the Gates of *Durazzo*, and resign his Command of seven Legions to *Brutus*.

C. Antony in the mean time had taken the Field with about seven thousand Men, and marching to *Butinto*, was met by the young *Cicero*, with a Detachment of the main Army, and some Squadrons of Horse. A sharp Engagement ensued, in which *Antony* was routed, with the Loss of twelve hundred Men. After this, not daring to face *Brutus's* superior Force, he laid an Ambush to surprise and

X. His Drunkenness and Incontinency: the first notorious; and the other shrewdly suspected, by his taking the younger *Servilia*, a wanton Dame, to attend him during the Campaign in *Greece*, and long Journey to *Asia*.

Cato's Mind, intensely bent upon Business all Day, left him Leisure for Conversation and Literature only at Night. He had the most learned and virtuous Men of the Age in his House, the famous Stoic, *Atbenadore*, surnamed *Cordylion*, *Appollonides* of the same Sect, and *Demetrius* the Peripatetic. With these he used to sit late, immersed in Philosophy. *Memmius*, a Libertine, wanting to be on the same footing, said that *Cato* spent the whole Night over his Bottle. But you don't say, replied *Cicero*, that he passes the whole Day at Cards.

The younger *Servilia* was in the Bloom of Life married to *Lucullus*, well advanced in Years, and took more after her Sister, *Silanus's* Wife, than her half Brother *M. Cato*. Upon his Friend's account *Lucullus* long bore with her Irregularities; but she grew so wild and infamous, that he was, at last, obliged to give her up, and send her a Writ of Divorce. This Blow seems to have roused her out of the gay *Delirium*,

carry him off. *Brutus* was cautious, and not only avoided it, but soon after surrounded him and his whole Army in a Valley, where he could easily have cut them in pieces. *Power*, they say, is the Touchstone of Men. Instead of destroying his Enemies, he ordered his Men to salute them as Fellow-Citizens: they were obstinate, and made no Return. But *Brutus's* Goodness was greater than their Obstinacy; he let *Antony* and his Troops march off unhurt, — and in a little time again overtook him among the Rocks and Fens of *Canana*, hemmed them in on all Sides, so that it was impossible for them to escape; and when they were now expecting Extremities, he again ordered his own Legions to salute them as Friends. This at last disarmed them; — they said *Brutus* was certainly *the humane worthy Man* he was called, — returned

in which a fine Woman, engaged in Intrigue, passes some Part of her Life. She reformed; and behaved so regularly, as to make her Friends willing to forget her Failures, and, if possible, to cover the Blemishes of her former Conduct. The civil War broke out; when, to give an incontestible Proof of Amendment, she took the hardy Resolution of accompanying her rigid Brother beyond Sea, in a long and uncertain Voyage to the Army under *Pompey*, carrying along her little Son by *Lucullus*. The undertaking the Fatigue of such an Expedition, and under so severe a Tutor, tended not a little to persuade the World, *That her Repentance was sincere*: But what contributed to re-establish her Character, *Caesar* improved to throw a Blot upon her Guardians, — and did not stick to say, ‘*That Cato with all his pretended Severity was willing to take the Trouble of so fair and frail a Fellow-Traveller, for the Sake*

the Salute, and surrendered themselves with their General a Prisoner. Hereupon *Brutus*, Master now of *Greece* and *Illyricum* in two Months time, wrote a Letter to the Senate; acquainting them with what he had done, and assuring them that his Army and these Provinces, were now at the Disposal of the *Roman* Senate and People. The Letter to the Consuls, was read in the Senate by *Pansa*, with such an Encomium on *Brutus*, and so cordial an Approbation of his Conduct, as evinced the Truth of the Maxim, *That no Man envies another's Merit, who has any Confidence in his own.* The Senate voted, ' *That what Q. Cepio Brutus had done, was for the*
' *Good of the Republic; and empowered him to com-*

' *of her agreeable Conversation.* ' But *Cato's* Virtue was secure; his whole Life gave the Lie to this Insinuation. It was known, that, amidst the greatest Dissoluteness of Morals, he had no Amour before Marriage; and that when Lord of *Cyprus*, in the Height of Life, where *Venus* literally reigns, he returned from his Command without having touched a Woman.

These Pieces, *Cicero's* Panegyric on *Cato*, and *Cæsar's* Anticatos, the Productions of such Pens, and on so interesting a Subject, were greedily received by their Contemporaries and much read by Posterity. But we may gather the Judgment passed upon them by good Men, from *Cicero's* Anxiety to spread his Antagonist's Performance. It is true, even *Cæsar's* Commendations were at that time too weighty, not to be highly agreeable to a Man void of Fame: though it would seem that A. Hirtius, *Cæsar's* Favorite, had, at his Desire, drawn up a Sort of Libel against *Cato*, upon which Sketch the Dictator afterwards formed his Anticatos. Wherefore *Cicero* writes to his Friend *Atticus*, *Do you make Hirtius's Piece as public as possible: for I thought the very*

‘ *mand the Army he had raised, — protect the Pro-*
‘ *vinces, and to levy what public Money he should*
‘ *find necessary for that Service.*’

Mean time the three ancient Senators of *Consular*, that is, supreme Dignity, were travelling towards *Modena*, as fast as the Depth of Winter would permit. The greatest Man of the three, *Servius Sulpicius*, aged and infirm, had undertaken the Embassy with much Reluctancy: he thought his Years, and especially the visible Symptoms of deep Indisposition which he bore, would procure him Exemption: But the Senate, thinking no other Man would have such Weight with *Antony*, would receive no Excuse; and at the same Time, the Consul *Pansa* having said some stronger Things than *Servius* was accustomed to hear, he took his Son and *Cicero* aside, and told them, *That he would lose his Life rather than disobey the Senate.* And so indeed it happened: for the good old Man, worn out with Age and Infirmities, and unable to bear such a Fatigue, expired within a Day’s Journey

Thing which you tell me has happened, That while our Friend’s Genius was approved, the Purpose of his Performance, to blacken Cato, would appear ridiculous. Qualis futura sit Cæsaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam, perspexi ex eo libro quem Hirtius ad me misit, in quo colligit vitia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis: itaque misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret; volo enim eum divulgari. Lib. XII. Epist. 39. Tu vero pervulga Hirtium; id enim ipsum putaram quod scribis, ut cum ingenium amici nostri probaretur, ὑπερθεσις vituperandi Catonis irrideretur.

Ibid. Epist. 44.

of *Antony's* Camp. His Death left the Embassy maimed, and as it were without a Head: he was a sincere Friend to Liberty and Rome; a steady Magistrate, an upright Judge, and of such superior Capacity in explaining the *Law*, and reconciling it with *Equity*, that he might be compared with our *Cowpers*, *Talbots* and *Hardwicks*. For he did not study *Forms* more than *Justice*; but by attending to the Spirit and Intention both of the *Statute* and *Civil Law*, he directed them to *Facility* in practice, and the *Ease* of the People. The founder Part of the Senate, then the Majority, looking upon him as a Martyr fallen in the Cause of Liberty, first decreed a public Funeral to him, and then his *Statue in Brass* to be erected in the *Rostrum*, with the Space of five feet around it, to be enjoyed by his Heirs for ever, in order to perform Games or Sacrifices, about that Monument of their Ancestor.

The other two Commissioners *Philip* and *Piso*, Men of no uncommon Spirit, and both connected with the *Cæsareans*¹, being arrived in the Camp, delivered the Orders of the Senate to *Antony*; 'To raise the Siege of Modena, and forbear Hostilities with D. Brutus'. To give them free Access to him in Town, — to cease from ravaging the Province of Lombardy, contain his Army beyond the Rubicon in its Boundary; not approach nearer than two hundred miles to the City, and be with his Troops in the Power of the Roman Senate and

¹ *Piso's* Daughter *Calpurnia* was married to *Julius Cæsar*, and *Philip* was married to *Atia* his Niece.

People. *Antony* received the *senatorial* Commissioners with indifference, and heard their Orders with contempt: — he pressed the Siege in their presence, would not permit them to enter the Town, and deliver their honorable Message to *D. Brutus* and to his Army; ‘ *That their Services to the Common-wealth were acceptable to the Senate and People, and would redound both to their own Honor and Interest*’. Disobedience to the Rest followed of Course: — But as if he had been upon an equal footing with his Country, and had been to treat with his Masters as one State does with another, he delivered the Sum of his *Demands* to the Commissioners, who had the Meanness to receive them from his Hands, and bring them home as the Fruit of their Embassy. They were written in a rude overbearing Strain, and abundantly showed both the Foundation of his Confidence, and Ground of his Fears. “I am content, *said he*, to give up both Provinces: — I quit my Army, and do not refuse to become a private Citizen. — I will even forget all that is past, and be sincerely reconciled, — if you will assign *Lands* and *Booty* to the *six Legions* that are in my Camp, and to my *Cavalry*, and to my *Pretorian Guard*. Besides, let the *Lands*, given by me and *Dolabella*, be possessed by those to whom they were given; and the *Deeds* and *Memorials* subscribed by the said *Dolabella*, or by me, let them remain valid and effective. Let the *Soldiers* in my Army be indemnified for whatever they may have com-

mitted contrary to the Laws: *Lombardy* I give up, and demand the *Farther Gaul* with an Army annexed of *thirty thousand Men*, (and that recruited out of the Troops of *Decimus Brutus*,) to be held by me so long as *M. Brutus* and *C. Cassius* are *Consuls*, *Proconsuls*, or in Power, that is, for the Space of five Years.

The Inconsistency and Insult of these Demands would tempt us to believe that they had been drawn up by *Antony* when he was (in no unusual plight) very drunk. He sent one *L. Varius Cotyla*, a Pot-Companion of his own, and Creature of the late *Cæsar*, as his Envoy to the Fathers, to see how they would be relished, or rather as a Spy upon the Senate, and to bring him intelligence how Matters went in *Rome*². Time had been when any one of these Demands, made by a rebellious Citizen, would have raised the highest Indignation: and in such like Cases, (when a hot-brained Leader had debauched the Legions, and was aiming at *illegal Power*) the Remedy was always from the Senate. For such was formerly the *Authority* of that august Body, and such the *Dignity* of its Members, that One of them, armed with a Decree of the Fathers, was an Overmatch for a *Lepidus* or a *Catiline*: But after that *Cæsar's* devouring Sword had cut off the

² Hic hesterno die sententias nostras in *codicillos*, & *omnia verba* referebat.

best and greatest Senators³, that once glorious Assembly retained but the Shadow of its wonted Authority. The Hinge of the unhappy State turned now upon the *Soldiery*; and the Man who had the greatest Number, and best trained of *these*, be his Cause or Character ever so bad, had so long the Command of the Common-wealth. The pernicious Example set by *Cæsar* had poisoned his whole Party; his Officers were all debauched; taught to contemn the *Laws* and *Senate*, and to depend upon nothing but their *Captain* and their *Sword*. Wherefore the surviving *Commissioners* expressed no great Wrath at the insolent Demands they brought from *Antony*; nor did the *Fathers* receive them with the Marks of Disdain they deserved. How melancholy the Change! from being the Principle of *Life* and *Action*, that used to animate the Republic, and govern the World, to sit still, as it were *passive*, and tamely permit the *Leaders* of the several Bodies of Troops to command and use them as *their own*, without interposing the public Authority, or exerting the Power of the State. But M. Cicero, the oldest Consular, after *Servius Sulpicius's* Death, roused their drooping Spirits, awakened a Sense of Honor, and inflamed them with a *Roman* Passion, the Love of

³ Illos ego præstantissimos viros vivere volebam, tot Consulares, tot Prætorios, tot honestissimos Senatores, omnem præterea Florem Nobilitatis, ac Juventutis; tum optimorum civium Exercitus; — qui si viverent Remp. hodie teneremus.

Liberty *. They vouched no Answer to their Rebel - subject; but passed ' an Act of Indemnity ' to such of his Followers as should return to their ' Obedience, and surrender themselves to either ' of the *Consuls*, or to the young *Cæsar*, before ' the *Ides of March*, (that Day twelve Months that ' *Tyranny* was abolished). And for their Encour- ' agement to do more than desert *Antony*, they ' empowered the *Consuls*, in Case any of them did ' a remarkable Service to the State, to prepare and ' bring a Bill into the Senate for rewarding their ' Desert. But added, that whosoever should now ' join *M. Antony*, or go to his Camp, (except ' *L. Varius Cotyla*) the Senate would hold him an ' Enemy to the Common - wealth.'

Here I am obliged to put every Man of Candor on his Guard, against the Malevolence and Falshood of the *later Writers* of the *Roman History*, particularly of the two *Greeks* of the low Empire (lower in their Minds than in Time) *Appian* the *Alexandrian*, and *Dion Cassius*. As they lived Slaves, and had no Relish, nor indeed *Comprehension* of the exalted Virtue of a free People ',

* *Aliæ nationes servitutem pati possunt, Populi Rom. propria est Libertas.*

Philip. II.

Ἔτιοι δὲ τῶν κακῶν τέτων, οἱ Βουλευταὶ ἐγένοντο : δέον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἓνα τινὰ προσήσασθαι, ἢ ἐκείνῳ διαπαντὸς συναίρεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησαν. Διων. βιβ. μς. i. e. *The Senate ought to have renounced their Liberty, and created some One Man their Master : A Sentiment only worthy of a Slave.*

partly

partly to flatter the *Cæsarean Successors*, and partly through Envy and Spite, they invented palpable **Falshoods** to *lessen* the Friends of Liberty, and *defame* the Father of Roman Learning. *Appian* grossly affirms, that M. Cicero being intrusted by the Senate with writing out their Instructions to their Commissioners to *Antony*, betrayed his Trust, and falsified the *Senate's Orders*, to embroil his Country in War ⁶.

It is a foolish incoherent Calumny; every Senator knew the Purport of his Instructions; they were to be *publicly* delivered; Cicero had himself repeated them in the *full Forum*, to an Assembly of the People ⁷. Had they been falsified, with what a Recoil must such a Forgery have come upon him at the Return of the Commissioners? And how *mean* must he have appeared both to the Senate and the People? Whereas they both continued to revere him as their *Guardian*, and trust him as the *Pilot* of the Senate, while *Rome* enjoyed her Liberty.

For the same Purposes that same Author, *Appian*, has put a fictitious and absurd Harangue in the Mouth of old *Piso*, in Answer to *Cicero*; as *Dion* has another still more trifling and scurrilous ⁸, which he utters in the Person of his Puppet *Fufius Calenus*.

⁶ Κικέρων τὴν γνώμην τῆς βουλῆς παραφέρων — οὕτω φιλονεικῶς τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐντολὰς συνέγραφε.

Εμδουλ. βιβ. γ.

⁷ Philippica VI.

⁸ Ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὡς Κικέρων, ἢ Κικέρηλε, ἢ Κικεράκις, ἢ Κικέριθς, ἢ Γραίνελε, ἢ ὅ τι ποτε καὶ χαίρεις ὀνομαζόμενος, &c.

βιβ. μς.

These Harangues are preceded by two of their own rare Productions, fathered upon Tully, which, when compared with the genuine Speeches of that great Patriot still extant, appear to be either *mangled* or *supposititious*; while the Answers seem to have been composed to show superior Talents, and how easily *these Authors* could have outshone the *Roman* Orator. But no Party-libel against a Minister long in Power, no *Craftsman* or *Examiner*, ever accumulated more Scandal than that Enemy to Worth and Friend to Prodigies, Dion Cassius, has raked together, against the Ornament of his Age and Country, Tullius Cicero. A national Prejudice, with a good Dash of Envy, instigated the *Greeks* against the greatest Scholar of *Rome*, (Passions from which *Plutarch* himself seems not to have been wholly exempted) while a hidden artful Flattery to *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* empoisons the Pens of Velleius Paterculus, and Valerius Maximus; and only leaves us *Cicero's* Letters, *Livy's* Epitome, and the Work of *Hadrian's* exact and impartial Secretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, as the Sources of historic Truth: to which may be added the Shreds of *private* History, and particular Characters scattered up and down *Seneca's* Writings, or those of *Josephus*, where the *Jewish* are connected with *Roman* Affairs. These are the Authors fit to be consulted by Lovers of Liberty and Truth, while the Court Flatterers, *Appian* and *Dion*, are to be left to be exscribed by the *French* and *Italian* Sycophants⁹.

⁹ Apologia di Giulio Cesare primo Imperatore di Roma,

To return to *Modena*. The sending Commissioners to *Antony* had slackened the military Operations of the *three Generals* against him. For by the same Decree that armed the Consuls, the *Senate* had authorized the young *Cæsar* to command the Army he had raised, and vested him with the Power of *Pro-pretor*. He had before no public Character, and because of his Youth was capable of no Magistracy but a *Priesthood*. This his Grand-uncle *Julius* had bestowed upon him, in the same Way as the most Christian King gives an *Abbacy* to an Infant, or the *Pope* creates some Royal Babe a *Cardinal*. But the grand Service he had done, in checking *Antony's* Violence, and protecting the City from his Fury at his Return from *Brindisi*, made him both appear worthy of that Command, and of being admitted a *Senator*, of the Privilege of standing for Offices sooner than his Years permitted — and of the Honor of an *Equestrian Statue* erected for him in the *Forum*. These Honors were cordially bestowed by the *Senate*, as they were severally proposed; the Command and Admission into the *Senate* by *Cicero*, the Privilege by *Servius Sulpicius*, and the *Statue* by the Youth's Father-

ingiustamente dai Pompeiani nemico della patria e tiranno appellato; ma dalla patria clementissimo Padre e della Romana repubblica giusto e legittimo prencipe.

D'ALESSANDRO GUARINO.

A Book written to confute M. Cato, Tullius Cicero, Titus Livius, Suetonius Tranquillus, and all the approved Authors of Roman History, upon the Authority of Appian and Dion.

in-law L. Philip, the Men best affected to the true Interests of *Rome*.

But as he was no Match for *Antony* alone, nor able to force him to raise the Siege of *Modena*, he took possession of *Imola*, where he wintered, while *Parma*, *Quaderna*, *Bologna*, *Reggio*, and the *Modenese*, were occupied by *Antony's* Garrisons. But the Decree of the *Senate*, 'That one or both Consuls should go against the Invader of *Gaul*,' made *Hirtius* forget his indisposition, and, though pale and much extenuated, marched towards *Gaul*, about *Mid-January*. No sooner were they joined than they entered upon Action, and began to straiten *Antony's* Quarters, and assault his Out-posts. *Hirtius* attacked *Quaderna*, drove out the Garrison, and possessed himself of the Place: But the Winter did not yet permit them to keep the Field, nor their Numbers to push the War. But *Decimus Brutus*, always alert, was told there were some Emissaries from *Antony* got into the Town, and endeavouring to debauch his Troops. He fell upon a short Method of Discovery. Having called the *Citizens* and *Soldiers* promiscuously into the *Forum*, he made such a Speech as was proper, and then suddenly commanded the *military Men* to retire to one Side of the Market-place, and the *Citizens* to the other. The unexpected Order confounded the *Spies*; and while they hesitated which Side to take, they were left alone, and instantly apprehended. Fraud failing, *Antony* had Recourse to Force; pushed on his Works, and completed the Circumvallation, such as he had

seen his Master draw round *Alesia* in *Burgundy*: *Decimus* was straitly then besieged; Provisions began to fail; and *Hirtius* apprehensive of his being too soon driven to treat, wanted to give him Intelligence of the united Army come to his Relief. At first he lighted Fires from the Tops of the highest Trees. — But no counter-Sign being returned, he bethought himself of writing on a thin Plate of Lead, and giving it to a Diver, to be carried under the Water of the River *Secchia*, that runs through *Modena*. The Device succeeded for some Time; but being at last suspected, *Antony* had Nets drawn across the River, to intercept the watery Conveyance. However the Siege proving tedious, through the brave Defence and obstinate Attack, they had Recourse to the Air, and *Hirtius* bound Letters with a Hair about the Neck of a Dove, come from *Modena* to feed, who carried them back again over *Antony's* Lines into the Town¹. But though they were thus exerting their utmost military Skill against one another, yet their long Intimacy in *Cæsar's* Service made *Antony* imagine it possible to awake the old Party-zeal in *Hirtius* and the young *Cæsar*, and thereby

¹ *This Account is given by Frontinus, (Stratagem, Lib. III.) and is indeed plausible; Pliny, an Author of better Credit, says it was the Kestrell, (a bastard kind of Hawk) which not Hirtius, but Decimus Brutus employed as his Messenger. Quin & internuntia in rebus magnis fuere Tinnunculi, epistolas annexas earum pedibus, in castra consulum obsidione Mutinensi, Decimo Bruto mittente.*

Plin. Lib. X. § 37. Both may be true.

detach them from the Interests of *Liberty* and the *Common-weal*. He therefore wrote the following Letter to them, which disguises his real Intentions, of *oppressing and plundering his Country*, and puts his Rebellion upon the Foot of *Resistance* to a Faction.

But before I insert the Letter, it must be previously told, that the News of *Dolabella's* Invasion of *Asia*, and the deplorable End of the brave *Trebonius* had lately reached *Rome*, and filled it with Horror and Indignation. — Even *Fufius Calenus*, the inveterate *Cæsarean*, when the Senate met on that bloody Business, was the first Man who proposed to attain *Dolabella*, and declare him an *Enemy to his Country*. He was voted *such* unanimously, as one who had violated all Laws, human and divine, and polluted himself with the most horrid and abominable Crimes. Yet no Man of common Sagacity doubted, but that atrocious Cruelty was committed by him *in Concert* with *Antony*, who was making the utmost Efforts to have *Decimus Brutus* in his Power, to serve him in the same inhuman Manner; as plainly appeared by the Letter he wrote from his Camp in the following Cavalier-Strain.

ANTONY TO HIRTIUS AND CÆSAR ².

“ **T**HE News of the Death of *C. Trebonius* gave me not more Pleasure than it did Pain: For though I rejoiced in that Malefactor's having fallen, as an Expiation to the Ashes of an illustrious Man, and that the divine Providence had appeared within the Term of the current Year, in taking or threatening Vengeance on the Parricide; yet that *Dolabella* should at such a Season be voted an *Enemy*, because he put an *Affassin* to Death, and that the Son of a Buffoon ³ should appear to have been dearer to the *People of Rome* than *C. Cæsar*, the *Father of his Country*, is indeed deplorable. But the bitterest Reflection of all is, that you *Hirtius*! loaded with *Cæsar's* Favors, and raised by him to a Height that astonishes yourself; and you, *Stripling*! who owe your all to his *Name*, should abet *Dolabella's* Condemnation, — should aim at relieving the *Villain* I am besieging, and endeavour to throw all Power into *Cassius* and *Brutus's* Hands! You look, to be sure, upon these Doings as some People did upon the late Transactions: *Pompey's*

² He gives them no Titles, which might infer an Acknowledgment of the Senate's power, and therefore takes none to himself.

³ He was the Son of a Roman Knight, of a fair Character and good Estate.

Camp you call the *Senate* * : — you obey the vanquished *Cicero* as your General ; — *Macedon* you are strengthening with Armies , — have given *Afric* to *Varus* twice a Captive ; *Cassius* you have sent into *Syria* , — suffered *C. Casca* to be Tribune , deprived *Cæsar*'s Priests of their Salaries , — abolished the Colonies of the *Veterans* , led out by Law and a Decree of the Senate , — engaged to restore the *Marseillians* to what they lost in fair War , — superseded *Hirtius*'s own Law , incapacitating a *Pompeian* to bear Office in the State . — You have supplied *Brutus* with *Apuleius*'s Money , — have approved of striking off *Patus* and *Menedemus* their Heads , though made free of the City and Clients of *Cæsar* . — You have overlooked *Theopompus* being expelled by *Trebonius* , and forced to fly stript of every Thing to *Alexandria* ; — you daily see *Sergius Galba* in your Camp , girt with the Dagger that stabbed *Cæsar* ; — you have insisted my *Soldiers* or other *Veterans* , as if to destroy *Cæsar*'s Murderers ; and then led them unawares against their *Questor* , *General* and *Fellow-Soldiers* . In short , what have you not done , or approved of doing , which — *Cn. Pompey* himself would do ,

* In Pompey the Great's Camp were ten Consulars , many Men of Pretorian Dignity , honored by the Presence of *M. Cato* ; and in effect the real Senate . In Antony's Camp , he himself was the only Consular , and had some few Senators like himself , whose Names moved Laughter or Indignation . His real Strength lay in the *Julian* brawny Centurions , *Saxo* , *Capbo* , *Tiro* , *Mustela* , *Laco* , and such like .

were he in Life, or his Son *Sextus*, were he at home? After all, you will listen to no Conditions of Peace, unless I either permit *D. Brutus* to march out, or supply him with Provisions. — Say you so? Is that the Opinion of those Veterans who are yet unengaged? As for *you*, you have sold yourselves to the poisoned Flattery, and ensnaring Honors of the Senate. But, say you, ‘*we want to save the Soldiers shut up in the Town:*’ That I don’t oppose; let them be saved, and go whither soever they please; provided they abandon their Leader, and give *him* up to Destruction who has deserved it. You write, that Mention has been made in the *Senate* of a *Treaty*, and that *five Consulars* are named Commissioners. It is scarcely credible that those who have driven ‘me to this Pass, while offering the fairest Terms of Peace’, and even willing to abate some Part of them, should be capable of acting with Humanity or Moderation: Nor is it probable that the Men who have voted *Dolabella* an Enemy for a *most just Action*, should incline to spare *me*, who have the same Sentiments with him — Wherefore do you two rather consider, whether it be prettier’, and more for the Good of the *Party*, to avenge the Death of *Trebonius* or of *Cæsar*? and whether it

‘ His Ambition, Riot, Rapacity, and consequent Crimes, were his only Drivers.

‘ See Page 157.

‘ It sounds still more oddly in the Original; *utrum sit elegantius. Antony drank and fought better than he spoke or wrote.*

be better that we cut down one another, to raise the *Pompeian* Cause so often baffled to its former Vigor; or agree among ourselves, that we may not become the Scoff of our Enemies; who, which soever of us fall, are sure to be the Gainers? A Spectacle which *Fortune herself* has as yet prevented, that she might not behold *Soldiers* of the same Corps destroying one another, while *Cicero* stands *Master-Gladiator*, and urges the Combat; so far happy at least, that he has been able to catch you with the same fallacious Honors, by which he makes his Boast of having deceived the late *Cæsar*. As for me, I am firmly resolved not to bear any Indignity done to myself, or to my Friends — nor to forsake *that Party* which *Pompey* hated, — nor suffer the *Veterans* to be driven out of their assigned Seats, — nor to be dragged one by one to the Rack, — nor to falsify my Faith plighted to *Dolabella*, — nor violate my Confederacy with the pioudest of ^a Men *M. Lepidus*, — nor yet betray *Plancus* the Partner of all my Designs. Wherefore, if it please the immortal Gods to prosper me in the prosecution of these *sound Sentiments* ^b, (as I hope they will) I shall live with Pleasure. But if another Destiny awaits me, yet I fore-taste a Joy in the certain Prospect of your future Punishment; for if the *Pompeians* are so insolent when

^a Pioudest is no more used in good English, than *piissimus* in good Latin.

^b Quod si me *rectis sensibus* euntem Dii immortales, ut spero, adjuverint.

vanquished, may it be rather your Fate than mine to prove what they will be when *Victors*. In a Word, my last Resolution lands in this, *that I could bear with the Wrongs done to me and mine, if they would either forget that they had done them, or would join with us in avenging Cæsar's Death.* As for your Commissioners, I don't believe they will come: till then nought but War: if they do, I shall hear their Demands."

Hirtius the *Consul*, instead of answering the Letter, sent it directly to Cicero, who read it in the Senate, as an Evidence of what they must expect from the new Chief of the *Cæsareans*, if he came off Conqueror. It was very true, that *Piso* and *Calenus*, *Antony's* Friends, had induced the Fathers, by false Representations of his good Disposition, and the sorrowful Plight in which they found his Family^a, to think of a second Embassy: But upon riper Thoughts they gave it up, and saw it had only been a Fetch to gain Time, when *Decimus Brutus* was thought to be reduced to Extremities, and that every Day would bring the News of his treating, or of the Town being taken by Assault. In lieu therefore of a new Embassy, the brave and steady C. Vibius Pansa, after abrogating *Antony's* factious Laws, and voiding his forged Grants, marched out of *Rome* at the Head of four new rai-

^a Attendistis paullo ante, præstantissimi viri (L. Pisonis) quæ esset oratio; *Mæstam* inquit, *domum* offendi, *conjugem*, *liberos*. —

fed Legions, (twenty - fix thousand Men) mostly Volunteers, the Flower of *Italy*, who inlisted eagerly to serve a Cause, on which depended their Liberties, and every Thing dear to Men. Such a Force joined to *Hirtius* and the young *Cæsar's*, was far superior to *Antony's* in Numbers. — But the greater Part of *his* Troops were hardy rapacious Veterans, that make the Nerve of an Army, and the Bane of a State.

Upon the News of the other Consul's Approach, *Antony* thought to surprise him, and destroy the raw Body of Men under his Command: early upon the fourteenth of *April*, he led out two veteran Legions, and two Pretorian Cohorts, (two Regiments of Guards,) his own and *Silanus's*, with a Part of the oldest Soldiers recalled to their Standards², and marched towards *Bologna* to intercept *Pansa*, who he thought had only the four Legions of Recruits. The *Modenese* is a low flat Country, full of Marshes. As the high Road to *Gaul*, and *Spain* led through it, the Romans had raised a grand military Way, (the *Emilian*) that like the *Dutch Dikes*, was higher than the Fields on either Side, which were overgrown with Reeds. Among these, and behind the Village *Castel franco*, *Antony* hid the heavy armed Legions, showing only his Dragoons, and some light armed Foot. But *Hirtius*, an experienced Officer, suspecting the very Thing that happened, detached the *Martian* Legion, of which *Sergius Galba* was Tribune, and both his own and

² Partem Evocatorum.

Cæsar's Pretorian Guards, to escort his Colleague to his Camp. This great Detachment marched all Night, and joined the Consul unknown to *Antony*. The *Martian Legion*, and the young *Cæsar's Guards* were the very Men who, after the Murder of their *Centurions*, had abandoned *Antony* at *Brindisi*, and looked on those who staid as dastardly Traitors. They, on the other Hand, looked on them as perfidious Deserters of their General. In this Temper the *Martians* no sooner spy'd *Antony's* Horsemen crossing their Way, then their Fury kindled; they turned deaf to Orders, and rushed impetuous through a Pass between the Morass and a Wood to attack them. *Pansa*, the Consul, unable to restrain them, left two of his Legions to guard his Camp, under his *Questor Torquatus*, and ordered the other two to follow him, and support the *Martians*. At this *Antony* instantly drew out his Legions from the Village, and from among the Reeds, when the most furious Conflict began that had been seen during the civil War. No military Shout, no Threats, no Tumult preceded the Onset; but intense Revenge, fierce Silence, and firm Order ruled the terrible Encounter. The Crash of Weapons and dying Groans was the only Noise between Files of Men of equal Strength and Skill, animated by the same Passions, and engaged on Ground that allowed no Retreat. On the Consul's Right, eight Cohorts (3400 Men) of the *Martians*, with *Galba* at their Head, drove the Enemy about a hundred Paces off their Ground, and following their Blow too eagerly, were in hazard of being surrounded

by Antony's *Moorish* Horse. But on the left, Cæsar's *Pretorians*, and two *Martian* Cohorts, being attacked in Front by the Legion, and in Flank by the Dragoons, began to give Way; when the Consul advancing with the new levied Legions, renewed a bloody Struggle, and poised the Scale of Victory. But while with the greatest Gallantry he was acting the Soldier, as well as the General, he received two fatal Wounds with a Javelin in his Side, which obliged him to be carried off the Field to *Bologna*, and his Army to retreat in Order to their Camp. Antony remaining Master of the Field of Battle, superior in Numbers, and especially in Cavalry, instantly ordered his two Legions to march and attack *Pansa's* Camp. But was beaten off not without Slaughter of his best Men, and forced to retire towards *Castel franco*, where the Engagement had begun. Few bloodier Bouts than this had passed between *Roman* Armies. *Antony's* thirty-fifth Legion had suffered extremely; nor was the other (the *second*) little maltreated at the fruitless Attack of the Camp. On the other Side, two Cohorts of the *Martians* were cut to Pieces; of *Cæsar's* *Pretorians* very few escaped³, and of these few, scarce a Man, came off without Wounds.

But *Hirtius* being quickly informed of what was passing between his Colleague and *Antony*, would not let slip so fair an Opportunity; but with eager Celerity drew out his Forces, to get if possible

³ Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ τῶν Κοισαρίων ἀπώθηται.

between *Antony* and his fortified Camp, and engage a shattered Army with a fresh one. He partly obtained his Purpose; but could not prevent another Legion joining him from *Modena*: However, nothing daunted, at the Head of the fourth, and of the young *Cæsar's* veteran seventh, (whom he left with only four Cohorts to guard his Camp) without any Cavalry, he reached *Castel franco* before *Antony* arrived. And now appeared the superior Spirit of this Consul; for knowing the desperate Service he was going upon, (encountering three Legions, flanked with Horse, with two Legions unsupported,) and being resolved to conquer or fall in the Cause, he took the Eagle of the fourth Legion out of the Standard-bearer's Hand, and showed that veteran Body a Sight they greatly admired, *the General leading on the Legion in Person, and exposing himself to the Brunt of the Battle**. The Encounter was fierce and desperate, as between Veterans mutually incensed, and flushed with Blood; but such was the Violence with which *Hirtius* and his Men came rushing on the *Antonians*, that after a stout Resistance, partly wounded, partly weary, they were no longer able to stand the Shock; and the shattered Part involving the sound, they were at once overborn by main Force, some Companies

* Viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ legionis cum inferret (quâ nullius pulcriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus) cum tribus *Antonii* legionibus equitatuque conflixit.

trodden down and trampled under foot; and so rapid and general was the Execution, that the victorious Army scarce lost a Man⁵. And *Antony* having seen three of his best Legions destroyed in one Day, was forced to fly with the broken Remains of his Cavalry to his Camp at *Modena*, where he arrived about ten at Night.

The Vicinity of the Camps making Intelligence fly, that same very Day a Body of *Antony's* Men, being informed of the March of *Hirtius*, and thinking his Camp, weakly guarded, would be an easy Prey, marched from *Modena*, and gave a furious Assault. They were received with great Bravery by the young *Cæsar*, who sustained the Attack with a few Cohorts, and beat them off without Loss of his Garrison. For a *Roman* Camp was fortified like a Town, and the storming it was like filling a Ditch and scaling a Wall. As this was the first Time which the Youth had been in Action, (for it is uncertain whether he was at the Battle of *Munda* in *Spain*) or at least, where he commanded, his Behaviour gained him great Honor. It is true, *M. Antony* (then, and afterwards his Enemy) gave it out that he could not stand the approaching Attack, but ran terrified away, and did not appear for two Days thereafter, when he was found without his Horse or Pretorian Robe⁶: But the Consul *Hirtius's* plain Testimony in the

⁵ Quarta (legio) victrix, desiderat neminem.

Ibid.

⁶ Sueton. Octavius. §. 10.

Youth's

Youth's favor, wipes off that Imputation of Cowardice⁷.

Two days before the News of these Battles reached *Rome*, a Kind of Panic had seized the City. Surmises had been for some Time industriously spread, 'that *D. Brutus* was at the last Extremity, ' (as indeed he was) and that *neither the two Consuls nor the young Cæsar were such Enemies to Antony as they gave out; but Matters would be so managed that Modena would surely be taken, and old Friends would come to a better Understanding.*' But now a Report prevailed, that *Antony* having gained a sudden and complete Victory, was in full March towards *Rome*. It gave a mortal Damp to all good Men. Hurry and Confusion immediately filled the Streets, and Sorrow sat on every Countenance; while no Man could look on his Wife and Children, and think of their being exposed to the Outrage of the *veteran Cut-throats*, without melting into Tears. All the better Sort were preparing to abandon their Country, and transport themselves and their Families beyond Sea, to *M. Brutus's Camp*, or to the Provinces under his Protection. Along with this Report *Antony's* Friends, *Fufius Calenus*, *Servilius* and *Piso*, had maliciously propagated a Suspicion that *Cicero*, whose Virtue and Capacity had set him at the

⁷ Hic adolescens (Cæsar) maximi animi, ut verissimè scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit.

Helm in a free State, would in a few Days appear with his *Lictors* and *Fasces*, declare himself *Dictator*, and usurp the supreme Power. The Story, though utterly improbable, was with equal Cunning and Wickedness contrived to serve a very black Purpose. The old *Cæsarean*, and now *Antonian* Gang, hearing of their Leader's Prosperity, used every Night to cabal about the Place where their former Patron *Julius* had met with the Reward of his Crimes; there they concerted, which of them, upon *Antony's* Approach, should seize upon the *Capitol*, — who should possess himself of the *Forum* — who should plant themselves at the several *Gates* of the City; — that having *Rome* in their Power, they might do with the *Senate* what they pleased. But as they made no Doubt, upon the first Emotion, that the great Concurrence of the Citizens would be to Cicero's House, they first propagated the Story of his intended *Usurpation*, and had some mock - *Lictors* ready to appear with *Fasces* at his Entry, at the Sight of whom they were all to roar out *the Tyrant! the Tyrant!* rush upon him with a Band of Ruffians, and put him *first* to Death.

To free this Patriot from the Load of so base and invidious a Calumny, *P. Apuleius* his constant Friend and Confident ever since his Consulship, being then Tribune of the People, called an Assembly to the *Forum*: where making a Speech in Defence of Tully, and unmasking the malicious Fiction of his Usurpation, the whole Meeting with one Voice did Justice to eminent Merit, and

bore the glorious Testimony; *That M. T. Cicero had never entertained a Thought that was contrary to the Interest of the Common-wealth.* But what crowned the Day to Cicero, and made him think himself overpaid for all the Labors, Pains, and Sufferings he had undergone for his Country, was that two or three Hours after this honorable Testimony from the *Roman People*, the Courier arrived with *laurelled Letters*, from the Consuls to the Senate, bringing an Account of their several Engagements and final Victory. When the News were published, and had reached the Minds of Men overwhelmed with Gloom, and expecting the very worst, the Reverse was too strong to be born with Moderation: — a Frenzy of Joy seized the City, and their Rejoicings were next to Madness; In a very short Space, the *Senate, Knights and Commons*, gathered about Cicero's House, and with loud and uninterrupted Acclamations conducted the great Statesman to the *Capitol*, to give Thanks to the *tutelar Gods* of Rome; and then placed him on the *Rostra*. He attempted to speak, — but in vain: the ravishing Thought of their *recovering Liberty*, the Sense of the *Worth, Talents, and high Desert* of the Patriot, put them out of condition to listen in Silence. Shout after Shout expressed their Passion, and gave the good Man the purest and most soul-satisfying Pleasure he had ever tasted in his Life. For to be *popular and successful* in a *salutary Cause*, and to merit the united Applause of an Empire, must have highly delighted a Man less sensible to Praise than *Tullius Cicero*. With

the same Shoutings and Ecstasy they reconducted him to his House, as the Father, and a *second* Time the Saviour of his Country; and then ran in Multitudes about all the Shrines of the Gods, to give Thanks for their unspeakable Deliverance.

The Letters from the Generals, giving an Account of this complete Victory, were very variously heard in the Senate. *Fufius Calenus*, had on a late Occasion composed and brought into the Meeting a *Formula* of Approbation of *M. Brutus's* public Letter, that it seemed to be well and regularly written^{*}, as if he would have applauded his Under-secretary: But he meant to flur over *Brutus's* Fame, and elude the Senate's direct Ratification of his Services, or farther enlarging his Power: In Imitation of that same Malignant, *P. Servilius*, deeply mortified by the defeat of *Antony*, was forced so far to dissemble, as to vote for a *Supplication* or solemn Thanksgiving to the Gods, for the *Consul's* Victory; but being obliged to mention over *whom*, he chose to phrase it, *over roguish and presumptuous Citizens*^{*}.

^{*} Ita enim dixisti, & quidem de *scripto*; Literas Bruti Recte & Ordine Scriptas Videri: quod, quid est aliud quam *librarium* Bruti laudare, non Brutum? — quod verbum tibi non excidit, ut sæpe fit, fortuito: *scriptum meditatum, cogitatum attulisti*.

Philippic. X.

^{*} Da Improbis & Audacibus, nam sic eos appellat vir clarissimus, (*P. Servilius*) quæ sunt urbanarum maledictalium, non *inustæ* belli internecini *Notæ*. The *Vir clarissimus* answers to our, *The noble Lord*, in the House

His Malevolence signified little, while there was such a Man in the Assembly as *Cicero*, to unveil and expose it: wherefore, in the same Manner as *Brutus's* taking possession of *Macedon*, and the Command of the Forces there to belonging, was justly¹ approved and ratified by the *Senate*, *Marc Antony* and all who had followed his Party, were now voted Enemies to the *Commonwealth*; and the three Generals who had defeated them were saluted *Imperators*, (Commanders in chief) first by their own Soldiers, and then by the *Supreme Authority*: so groundless are the Suggestions of the *Cæsarean* Writers, that the *Senate* in honoring the other Leaders took no Notice of the young *Cæsar*. But farther to animate the victorious Troops, they voted a stately *Monument*

of Peers, or the honorable Member who spoke last, in the House of Commons, made frequently use of by those who condemn and oppose them.

Ibid. XIV.

¹ It is true, that *M. Brutus* was named to *Macedon*, and *Cassius* to *Syria* by *Julius Cæsar*, who had no legal Power to do so: but that Nomination had been ratified by the *Senate* when it was free by his Death, which rendered it regular and valid. *M. Antony* afterwards by armed Force obtruded a Vote upon the People, transferring it to his Brother *Caius*, which was no more binding than *Julius's* Nominations. Violence in any Shape is the Dissolution of all Laws; and leaves free born Men at Liberty to do themselves right, and restore the legal Constitution by all the Methods in their Power, without regarding the mock Forms of State substituted in Place of lawful Government.

of square Stone to be erected by the *Consuls*, to the Memory of the brave Men of the *Martian* and other Legions, who were killed in the Action with an Inscription deeply engraved, *That it was sacred to those who had spilt their Blood in Defence of the Roman Liberty*: as also, that the *Premium* or *Donative* promised to these Legions, upon the Recovery and Establishment of the Common-wealth, should be paid out of the public Treasury to the *Parents Children, Wives* or *Brothers* of the Soldiers who had fallen in that Battle, in the same Manner as if they themselves had been still alive.

The unhappy Country about *Modena* began now to have some little Respite from the Ravages of so many Armies, both as they were closer drawn together, and as the chief Actors of these Violences had received so effectual a Check. A little before this, *T. Plancus*, a Captain of *Antony's* light Horse, (we would call them *Hussars*) was met by the resolute *Pontius Aquila*², and after a smart Engagement, put to Flight, and disabled from molesting their allied Cities for the future. For the nearer *Gaul* or *Lombardy* being filled with *Colonies*, and the Country

² This explains a Sarcastm in the XIII. Philippic, not commonly understood. *Illud verum, quod in hoc Planco, proverbii loco dici solet, perire eum non posse nisi si ei crura fracta essent: fracta sunt, & vivit. Hoc tamen, ut alia multa (Pontio) Aquilæ referatur acceptum. This Hussar Captain must not be confounded with Cn. Plancus the General, and Consul elect.*

full of *Roman Inhabitants*, was in a Manner incorporated with *Italy*, and the People breathing the same Spirit, were keen in the Interests of Liberty. They had raised Men and Money for *Decimus Brutus* and the *Consuls*, to the utmost of their power¹. The nearest *Italian Towns* set the example with such Eagerness, that the Soul of the *Roman Senate* seemed to be infused into the common Council of every Borough. The Community of *Fermo* led the Way in taxing themselves; the *Marrucinians* marked with Ignominy the young Men of their Town who refused to enlist: all *Italy* was in the same Temper; the *Paduans* rising in a Body, drove out *Antony's* Garrison, shut their Gates upon another Detachment, and sent a Sum of Money, a Number of Soldiers, and what they most wanted, a Magazine of Arms to the *Consuls*. The *Norcians* raised a Monument for those Citizens destroyed by *Antony's* Sword at *Modena*, with an Inscription, *That they fell in the Cause of Liberty*. But the unfortunate *Parmesans*, zealously well affected, were the chief Butt of *Antony's* Wrath: he sent

¹ Gallia enim, hujus belli propulsandi, administrandi, sustinendi principatum tenet: Gallia D. Bruti nutum ipsum, ne dicam imperium, secuta, armis, viris, pecuniâ, belli principia firmavit: eadem crudelitati M. Antonii suum totum corpus objecit; exhauritur, vastatur, uritur; omneis æquo animo belli patitur injurias dummodo repellat periculum Servitutis.

his brutal Brother *Lucius* with a Band of Ruffians like himself, who gave a furious and unexpected Assault, and broke into *Parma* Sword in Hand. There be acted a Scene of Barbarity and Turpitude, almost beyond Example. The grave and honorable Citizens, Friends to the *Senate* and *sound Government*, were with Insult and Buffoonry, put to cruel Deaths: Their Wives and Daughters were dragged into the Streets, and openly abused with Daggers at their Throats. Such Doings are shocking even in Description; they abundantly showed what was to be expected from the Brother *Antony* and their Crew, if they came to be Conquerors. But now they were no longer at Liberty to scour and pillage the Country, for after his Defeat, *Antony* was in a Manner besieged in his Turn, being blocked up within his Camp by the united Armies of the Consuls and of *Cæsar*; and yet he still pressed *D. Brutus* with growing Famine. Some Days passed in this Situation, when *Hirtius*, elated with his Victory, and afraid of *Brutus's* Pressure growing too great, resolved to make an Attempt upon the Works of Circumvallation, and to force his Way into the Town. For this End he drew together the three veteran Legions, the Flower of his Army, and ordered them by Day-break to take a Compass about the Morass on the West of *Modena*, and attack the Camp where the Works were weakest in the marshy Soil. Upon their Motion, *Antony* sent his Cavalry, in which he was still very strong, to attack the Legions in Flank, and prevent their

advancing to his Lines. But *Hirtius's* Horse received their Charge, kept them at a bay, and covered the Foot marching unmolested round the Morafs. *Antony* perceiving his Error, hastily ordered out two Legions to intercept them; upon whom the Consular Army fiercely turned, and the Battle joined with great Violence. In the Height of the Conflict, which was just under the *Vallum*, D. Brutus, either in Concert with the *Consul*, or taking Measures from the Emergency, disencumbered a Port, and at the Head of his veteran Legion, furiously assaulted the Guard of the inner Trenches: a Cry from the Camp ensued, which made the *Antonians* turn their Heads, imagining the Enemy had broke into it at another Part.—Immediately their Courage failed; their Resistance slackened; Victory again declared for *Hirtius*, who drove them headlong back upon their own Lines. There every Thing was in Confusion: the ardent Consul following his Blow, tore down a Part of the Works, and entered pell-mell with the flying Legions. On the other Wing the *young Cesar* was acting his Part with great Bravery: for, though, in leading on his Men, he received a slight Wound, he was so far from retiring, that perceiving the Officer intrusted with the Ensign of the *Legion*, (upon the saving of which their *Honor* depended) to be mortally hurt, he took the Eagle out of his Hand, and carried it upon his own Shoulders during the Rest of the Engagement. *Hirtius* with his victorious Troops, now got within the Camp, looking around him,

saw the Enemy all in Disorder, except a Body of *Antony's* Pretorian - guards, who were still making a Stand before the General's Tent. Thither he speeded with his chosen Band; and rushing impetuously on, he quickly broke, and put them to Flight: but flushed with Victory, and fighting *unguarded*, both he and the brave *Pontius Aquila* received the Wounds that in the Midst of Conquest put an End to their Lives.

In this third Battle *Antony* lost his whole *veteran* Army, except his Cavalry, which went off almost in a Body: With these and the disarmed Remains of his Foot, he was forced to take a precipitate Flight from the Town he had been besieging for four Months, with a declared bloody Intent of murdering the Deliverer of his Country who commanded it, of usurping the Province, and hanging like a Meteor over Rome. He now fled in piteous Plight, to take Shelter among the Rocks and Dens, in the Ridge of the *Apennines*, and stopt not Day nor Night, until he came to a Place called *the Fords* *. It lies between the *Alps* and *Apennines*, surrounded with steep Mountains and craggy Cliffs, only inhabited by Birds. In this Flight, from the highest Degree of Debauchery, in which he usually lived, he was in Want of all Things,

* "Ἀρχόνται μὲν ἔν αἱ Ἀλπεις — ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν χωρίων αἰὲρ ὦνπερ
ἢ τὰ Ἀπεννινα ὄρη, καὶ τὰ Γένεαν, ἐμπορεῖον Λιγύων, ἢ τὰ καλούμενα
Σαβδαίων Ὀυαδα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ Ταναγι.

but suffered chiefly by Hunger': For the Man of Wit was mistaken, who being asked the Day after the Battle, what he imagined *Antony* was now doing, replied, *The same Thing that thirsty Dogs do, on the Banks of the Nile; drinking and running away*⁵. He had nothing but Water to drink, fed upon wild Roots, and the Carcasses of Animals not reckoned eatable by Men; at last, in passing the *Alps*, he and his People were even reduced to gnaw the Barks of Trees for Aliment. In these Straits it was that any *Semblance* of Virtue in *Antony* (for *real* he had none) appeared to Advantage. He was a Pattern of Patience to the common Men, in bearing Hunger and Toil, sleeping on the bare Ground, and feeding contentedly on the harsh Fare these Mountains afforded. His robust Body hardened by early Warfare, and his Strength of Constitution, Proof against daily Debauch⁷, enabled him to endure such Extremes.

⁵ Φεύγοντι δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ πολλὰ συνέπιπτε τῶν ἀπόρων, ὃ δὲ Λίμος, ἀπορώτατον.

Πλατάρχ. Ἀντωνίῳ.

⁶ Post *Mutinsensem* fugam, quærentibus quid ageret *Antonius*, respondisse familiaris ejus ferebatur; quod canis in *Ægypto*; bibit & fugit: quando in illis regionibus constat canes, raptu crocodilorum exterritos, currere & bibere.

Macrobian. Saturn. Lib. II. §. 2.

⁷ Tu, *Antoni*! istis faucibus, istis lateribus, istâ gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in *Ilippiæ* nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in Pop. Rom. conspectu postridie vomere.

Philippic. II.

At Modena the Joy and Congratulations upon the Victory, were much allayed by the Loss of the Consul Hirtius. He had great Accomplishments; *was handsome, eloquent, and equally fitted for Letters and Arms*; to which had he joined a more moderate Love of Power and Pleasure, and a sincerer Attachment to his Country, he would have left a most consummate Character. But in these Battles, the Scholars of the late *Julius Cæsar* were putting in Practice against one another, the Lessons they had learned under him in *Gaul*, and in the *three Parts* of the World, where he fought against the Commonwealth; and now the Loss of so many brave Men, who might have been the Barrier of the Empire against Barbarians, or propagated its Boundaries to the Ends of the Earth, was owing to the Ambition of his Mimic *Marc Antony*. The Hinge, however, of the War, turning upon the Relief of *Decimus Brutus*, and raising the Siege of *Modena*, made his Preservation highly pleasing to the Senate; and his successful Sally, very glorious to himself: for the steady Resistance he had made to many fierce Assaults, and the Resolution with which he had endured Hunger and Hardships, were crowned by this Piece of Bravery, and made the Fathers (relieved from impending Terror) willingly decree a Triumph to him, and the Honor of an Ovation to the young *Cæsar*. Yet these were not carried without Opposition: Envy and Malevolence are common Weeds, while Gratitude only grows in the noblest

Soils. Some selfish Senators*, or secret Favorers of *Antony*, Men who valued their Palaces and Fish-ponds more than Liberty or their Country, tried to thwart the Decree, and weaken the Hands of *Decimus*, but were then easily over-ruled by the Friends of the Republic.

Hitherto Affairs had been admirably conducted, both at *Rome*, through the Spirit and Wisdom of *Tully*, and in the Field, through the Bravery and Capacity of their Commanders; but after this last Victory, and *Antony's* dishonorable Flight, as if the War had been ended, and nothing more remained to be done, a strange Remissness seized upon both the *Senate* and *Generals*. The first Error committed, and indeed the *capital* one, was, the not immediately pursuing the Invader, when stript and astonished he was flying to the Mountains. This happened through one of these unaccountable Sort of *Fatalities* that sometimes intermix in the greatest Affairs, and is worthy our tracing.

The Day of the last Battle, *Decimus Brutus*, intent upon his Sally, and after the Success, upon taking Care of his almost famished Troops, did

* Illo die (quo de D. Bruti triumpho, & C. Cæsaris ovatione referebatur) cognovi paulo plureis in Senatû malevolos esse quam gratos.

Cicero ad M. Brutum, per *Messalam*.

Nonnulli invident eorum laudi, quos in Rep. probari vident.

Id. ad C. Cassim.

* Cicero calls them *Piscinarii nostri*: Our Fish-pond Men.

not know that the brave *Hirtius* was slain, but thought him in full Pursuit of the Enemy. The young *Cæsar* he could scarcely confide in, until he had met and talked with him, when he seems to have been well satisfied of the Youth's good Intentions. But early next Morning he received a Message from the other Consul, *C. Pansa*, who was lying ill of his Wounds at *Bologna*, to come to him with all Speed. *Decimus* set out Post from *Modena*, and had not reached *Bologna* when the melancholy News met him, That the Consul was dead. He halted back to his harassed Army, which had suffered severely during the Siege; but by these cross Accidents, *Antony* had got two Days March before him, with the Odds, that the *Fugitives* kept no Order, nor ever stopt but to break Prisons, and pick up Malefactors for Soldiers. That same Day he proposed to *Cæsar* to join Armies, and pursue *Antony* across the *Apenines*. The Youth did not refuse; but whether his Veterans refused to follow, or whether the Death of both the Consuls in two Days Space, began to give him other Views, it is certain he did not stir from his Camp. *Decimus* therefore was forced to desist, having but one veteran Legion, one of two years Service, and five new levied in his Army. Had his Proposal been executed, *Antony* and his naked Crew, enclosed among barren Mountains, must have perished for Want, and the War been finished without drawing a Sword. However, after some fruitless Trials to bring over the *Martian* and *Fourth* Legions, who had been

the Strength of the Consular Army, to serve under him, *Decimus*, unwearied in the Cause of Liberty, took his Way over the *Apennine*, to pursue its Enemy, in Hopes of driving him out of *Italy*, and of intercepting and destroying *Ventidius*, before he should cross the Mountains and join him: But the unhappy Delay, occasioned by *Cæsar's* shuffling, gave *Antony* Time to breathe, and refresh his People at the Hollow already mentioned in the Mountains above *Genoa* called the *Fords*, where the Waters from the *Alps* on one Side, and the *Apennines* on the other, stagnate and form one of the Lakes that feed the *Po*. Here his first Comfort was to meet with his old Camp-companion, once a Muleteer, *Ventidius*, who with three Legions, had marched over Rocks thought impassable, to join his General in the Hour of Distress.

This gave him again something like an Army, but not such as he durst think of facing the Victors: wherefore, calling the Soldiery together, and highly extolling their Fidelity and Courage, (so he called their conspiring to plunder their Country) he made them immense Promises, and proposed to them to follow him over the *Alps*, in Order to join the Forces under *M. Lepidus*: with whom he was in perfect Intelligence. They would not hear of a *March over the Alps*, but called out aloud, that they would either conquer, or fall fighting in *Italy*;—and, at the same Time, began to beg of him, to march towards *Polenzo*. He was forced to comply, and immediately sent off *Trebellius* with some

Troops of Horse, to take Possession of it: But, by this Time, *Decimus* was advanced to *Tortona*, where being informed of *Antony's* Speech, and the Issue of it, he sent half a Legion in all Haste to prevent their possessing themselves of *Polenzo*, who arrived about an Hour before *Trebellius* and his Horsemen. This Celerity, and the Terror of being overtaken by a victorious Army, in a Country destitute of all Necessaries, made the *Ventidian* Soldiers change their Mind, and undertake the frightful March over the *Alps* towards *Lepidus*, who was lying in *Provence*, upon the Banks of the *Argens*, with an Army of forty thousand Men.

Mean Time, in the tottering state of the Commonwealth, the singular Event of the Death of both Consuls, was big with gloomy Consequences. Had either of them remained alive, they would have kept the Army together, and with the same Spirit they had engaged *Antony*, would have pursued him in his Flight, and put an End to the War. But it was the Loss of *C. Pansa* that was lamented by the wisest, as the fatal Blow to the *Roman Republic*¹. I find him mentioned with great Honor before he was Consul, by two of the best Judges of Men, *Tullius Cicero*, who celebrates his Humanity and Worth in protecting the Friends

¹ *Pansa amisso*, quantum detrimenti Resp. acceperit, non te præterit — : nunc auctoritate & prudentiâ tuâ prospicias oportet, ne inimici nostri, Coss. sublati, sperent se posse convalescere.

of Liberty under *Cæsar's* Usurpation, and ² *C. Cassius*, who gives him as an Instance of *Manhood*, and a noble Spirit, though of *Epicurean* Principles ³: His Virtue was rewarded with the general Applause; and when he went out of Town in military Garb, to a *Pretorian* Command, he received agreeable Marks of being *the most beloved Man of the Party*. For instead of insulting the Supporters of the best of Causes in their Misfortunes, he constantly interceded for them: and as his Worth gave him Weight he was even able to obtain a Remission to *T. Ampi*us Balbus, the *Champion* of the Republic, both by his Pen and Sword, whom the *Cæsareans* used to call *the Trumpet of the civil War* ⁴. From the Time he entered upon his supreme Magistracy, riper Judgment joined to a View of the Ravages committed by *Julius*, and of the Havoc made of the Common-wealth by *Antony*, seem to have made a Convert of him; and that from being a *Cæsarean*

² Panfa noster paludatus ad iii. Kalend. Jan. profectus est, ut quivis intelligere possit id, quod tu nuper dubitare cœpisti, τὸ πολλὸν δὲ αὐτὸ ἀνελόν esse; nam quod multos miseriis levavit, & quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum bonorum virorum benevolentia prosecuta est.

M. T. Cicer. ad C. Cassium.

³ Itaque & Panfa, qui ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet.

C. Cassius ad M. T. Cicer.

⁴ Tulissent acerbius, veniam tibi dari, quem appellabant tubam civilis belli.

M. T. Cicer. ad T. Amp. Balbum.

Chieftain, he now spoke ⁵, and wrote ⁶, and fought, with a sincere Desire of restoring Liberty, and the ancient *Form* of the Republic ⁷.

It is true, there is a Death-bed Speech made for him by *Appian*, which he should have delivered to the young *Cæsar*, that would prove him to have been a true Traitor, and, through a Train of Diffimulation, only aiming at his own Elevation: But by a genuine Letter of *D. Brutus* ⁸ it appears to be wholly fictitious; and has either been composed by some trusty *Cæsarean*, to give a Color to the Youth's subsequent Perfidy, and servilely copied by that *flavish* Writer: or it is solely the Fruit of his own Brains, like the Account of a *hostile* Sort of Congress between *Decimus* and the young *Cæsar* immediately after the Battle, which is also an evident Fiction.

⁵ Ubi sunt, C. Panfa! pulcherrimæ illæ cohortationes tuæ, quibus a te excitatus Senatus, inflammatus Pop. R. didicit nihil esse homini Romano foedius servitute?

Philippic. XII.

⁶ A Panfa literas accepi, in quibus hortatur me, ut Senatui scribam, me & exercitum in potestate ejus futurum.

C. Asin. Pollio ad. M. Cicero.

⁷ Erat in Senatu satis *vehemens* & *acer* Panfa, cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maximè in *focerum* (*Fufium Calenum*) cui Consuli, non *animus ab initio*, non *fides ad extremum defuit*. An authentic Testimony!

M. T. Cicero ad M. Brutum.

⁸ M. T. Ciceronis ad Familiares Epistolæ. Lib. XI. Ep. 13. See also Page 190.

It is true too, that when *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were preparing to march against *Antony*, *Quintus Cicero*, a brave Officer and a worthy Man, once their Comrade in *Julius's* Camp, passed a severe Sentence upon both. He writes to his Brother's Secretary and Favorite⁹, "That he was thoroughly acquainted
 " with the two new Consuls, whom he knew to
 " be Men so abandoned to Lewdness, Laziness,
 " and the worst Effeminacy, that if they quitted
 " not the Helm of the State, every Thing was in
 " hazard of Shipwreck." *It is past Belief*, says he, *what Pranks I have known them play in our Summer-Encampments, in the very Face of the Enemy; so that unless there be something firmer to oppose to that Plunderer Antony, he will gain them by a Similitude of Vices. The Common-wealth must be fortified either by Tribunitian Authority, or by that of eminent though private Citizens. For these two are not worthy to be trusted, the one with Cesena, or the other with the Foundations of the Cossutian Alehouses¹.*

⁹ M. T. Tiro.

¹ Coss. delig. quos ego penitus novi, libidinum & languoris effœminatissimi animi plenos; qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est. Incredibile est, quæ ego illos scio, oppositis Gallorum castris, in æstivis fecisse; quos ille Latro, (Antonius) nisi aliquid firmitus fuerit, societate vitiorum deliniet. Resp. est aut tribunitiis, privatis consiliis munienda: nam isti duo vix sunt digni quorum alteri *Cesenam*, alteri *Cossutianarum tabernarum* fundamenta credas. We would say, With the Care of *Brentford*, or erecting *Booths* in *Bartlemy Fair*.

But the good Quintus is too severe : a great Diffimilitude of Manners, and perhaps a little *Rivalship*, while Fellow-Soldiers in *Gaul*, might sharpen him against the *Consuls*. Magnificence and Profusion, and consequent Rapacity, were almost the Marks of the *Cæsarean* Party, from whence the Transition is easy to Luxury and Lewdness². They had been two of *Cæsar's* Favorites, and had indulged themselves in the Excesses which *he* could permit, or a *Camp* afford. But if Wildness in Youth absolutely disqualified Men for Business; or if libertine Manners were quite inconsistent with Honor and good Conduct, many Countries would be in a dismal Situation. Great, for certain, is the Superiority which *thorough Virtue* has over the virtuous *by halves*, and commands a proportionable Degree of Esteem and Confidence: but that no good Cause can be supported by the *intemperate*, nor Trust reposed in a *Man of Pleasure*, is contradicted by Instances which I ardently wish were fewer than they are. *Hirtius's* Conduct was liable to some Exceptions³: But both the noble Part

² It was objected to the *young Cæsar*, by *Lucius Antony*, during the *Perusian* Commotion, that he had made the most infamous of all Bargains with *A. Hirtius* in *Spain*, and submitted to the basest Compliance, for the Price of *cccc millibus nummorum*, near *L. 2500*.

³ *Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur, ut nihil in Cæsare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio.*

M. T. Cicer. ad Brutum.

The chief of these Exceptions, I suspect, was, a *Correspondence* kept up with his old Friends, the *Cæsarean*

which *Pansa* acted during the *Cæsarean* Calamities, and the Friendship he cultivated * with the Well-wishers to Liberty, (two sure Tests of a Man) show him to have been a Person of such Courage, Sincerity and Worth, that from his Death we may almost date the Ruin of the *Roman Republic* †.

Officers in *Antony's* Camp, or with his Abettors at *Rome* For no Man could push on the War with more Spirit than this brave Consul: but his *Affection* leading one Way, and his present *Character* another, he seems to have been a little in the Case of the famous *Marechal Biron*, who though he hated *Henry IV.* yet in his Wars, *ne pouvoit pas s'empêcher de bien faire & de mal parler.*

Mezerai.

* He lived in great Intimacy with Cicero's Friend *T. Pomponius Atticus* (1), with *Q. Cornificius* (2), *Decimus Brutus* (3), *C. Cassius* (4), and, to sum up all, with *M. Cicero himself* (5).

† The Poet *Tassone*, in his laughing Way, makes *Baldi*, the famous Lawyer, inform us, that the Place where *Pansa* died, or rather where he received his Death-Wounds, was called *Crevalcore*, i. e. *Heart-break*.

*Giace una terra, antica e favorita
Dalle Grazie dal Cielo a meraviglia*

(1) Nihil sine *Pansa tuo* volo. Cic. ad *Attic.* (2) Non te fessissent quæ à *Pansa* te posse consequi arbitrarere; nam te diligebat ad *Q. Cornific.* (3). (4) See above Pages 190. 193. (5) Fortissimus Consul atque optimus — homo mihi familiarissimus — (quem) ab ineunte illius ætate, usus, consuetudo, studiorum etiam honestissimorum societas similitudoque (mihi) conjunxit ejus curam incredibilem in asperrimis belli civilis periculis perspexi, non solum salutis, sed etiam dignitatis meæ.

M. T. Cicero, Philip. VII.

For now Julius Cæsar's *adopted Son* and *Heir* was left sole Commander of the veteran and *Consular* Armies, in whom lay the chief Strength that the Republic had to complete her Victory, and prevent a Coalition of the *Julian* Soldiery, under *Lepidus* and *Plancus*, equally corrupt as those now defeated under *Antony*. The Fall of both the *Consuls* being so *singular* an Accident, and happening so *opportunately* for the immediate Purposes of the Youth's Ambition, made People suspect *foul Play*.

*Col territorio vostro apunto unita,
E lontana di quà, tredici miglia:
Già vè fù morto Panfa, e dal dolore
Nominata da suoi fù Crevalcore.*

Secchia Rapita. Canto II. St. 15.

And Another Bard, who was born this same Year, (fruitful in Poets, giving Birth to Tibullus *) the unfortunate Ovid, in his *Fasti* (a perpetual Almanac of Feasts, Fasts, Prognostics of Weather) has in a sort of Pun, fixed the Day of the Battle to the 14th of *April*. Having mentioned the Ides of that Month, the 13th, he adds,

*Luce secutura tutos pete, navita, portus:
Ventus ab occasu grandine mistus erit.
Sit licet ut fuerit — tamen hac Mutinensia Cæsar
Grandine militiâ contudit arma sua.*

Lib. IV. v. 625.

Where he has confounded the Day of the first Battle with the *Consuls*, in which the *young Cæsar* had no Part, with the last, in which he had, in order to give him the Honor of the whole.

* Natalem primo nostrum videre parentes:

Cum cecidit fato Consul uterque suo.

Alb. Tibul. Lib. III. Eleg. 5.

A Surmise was spread, that *Glauco* Panfa's Physician, had been bribed by the young *Cæsar* to poison his Wounds; and that his own Soldiers had been bribed to kill *Hirtius* in the Heat and Confusion of the Battle. The Doctor was certainly taken up by *Torquatus* the Consul's Treasurer, and kept long in Custody; and the Youth's after Conduct did not tend to clear him from the other Part of the Suspicion.

The first Step of it was, not plainly to refuse *Decimus Brutus*, who was pressing him to pursue *Antony*; but to *shift* and *delay* until *Decimus* was obliged to march without him, when it was too late. He observed the same Conduct towards *L. Munatius Plancus*, Consul elect, and Governor of the farther *Gaul*, who was likewise pressing him by Letters to come and join him: an Uniformity, which showed an Alteration of Counsels and a settled Design. He had obtained one great End, for which he had taken Arms, to bear down *M. Antony*; and Fortune seemed now to offer him a favorable Conjuncture to prosecute his final Purpose, his own *Grandeur*: for it does not appear that ever he had been sincere in his Professions of *Love of Liberty*, or *Regard to its Friends*: — these were but secondary Views, Steps necessary to content Ambition and satiate Revenge. He was beset with his Father's Creatures, bold and cunning Men, *Balbus*, *Matius* and *Posthumus*; and with the Officers of the *Cæsarean* Legions, who dreaded *Peace*,

* M. T. Cicer. Lib. sing. ad M. Brutum, Ep. 6.

and despised the Senate. At *their* Instigation he first brought over the *Chiefs* of the Veterans in the *Consular-Army* to his Service; and then, in Contempt of the *Laws*, and of all his *Engagements*, resolved to abandon his Friends, desert the *Nobility* and *Common-wealth*, and make himself Consul for the remaining Part of the Year. As a good Citizen, a Man of Honor, and faithful Officer, he ought to have led his Army by great Marches Northward, in Pursuit of a *public Enemy*: But, instead of that, he first refused to join either of the *Consuls elect*, and then loitering long about *Modena*, catching at Pretences for his intended Perfidy. He affected to talk moderately himself: — but his Centurions were taught to bawl out, that the Senate called him a Boy, that Neglects were put upon their Generals on Purpose to defraud *them*; in so far as neither *Decimus* nor *Cæsar* were nominated in the Commission for assigning Lands to them at the Expiration of the War. At the same Time, to disengage himself from the great Person

’ Quod vivit *Antonius* hodie, quod *Lepidus* unâ est, quod exercitus habent non contemnendos, quod sperant, quod audent, id omne *Cæsari* acceptum referre possunt. Neque ego superiora repetam; sed ex eo tempore, quo *ipse* mihi professus est se venire, si venire voluisset, aut oppressum jam bellum esset, aut in adversissimam illis *Hispaniam*, cum detrimento eorum maximo detrusum. Quæ mens eum, aut quorum *consilia* a tantâ gloriâ, sibi vero etiam necessaria ac salutari avocarint, & ad cogitationem Consulatus bimestris summo cum terrore hominum, & insulsâ cum efflagitatione, transtulerint, exputare non possum.

Cn. Plancus ad Cic. Ep. 24.

he called his *Father*, he had a Story trumped up by one *Segulius Labeo*, of an ambiguous Phrase dropt by M. T. Cicero, *that the young Cæsar should be highly commended, honored, and raised to Dignity*: — or, as the Words will bear, *honored, and made away with* *. He said, *he must take Care to put it out of their Power to make away with him*. He therefore waited till he heard what was become of *Antony*; and was no sooner certainly informed of his Escape, his Junction with *Ventidius*, and Reception in *Gaul*, than he sent a Deputation of Officers to the *Senate*, to demand nothing less than the Supreme Magistracy. That *grand Council* was startled, not so much at the Consequences of his being *Consul*, as the seeking it in that Way, showed him to be a *Traitor*, who had malversed in his Command against *Antony*; and now, instead of taking Orders from *them*, had a Mind to oppress the Roman Republic. The Fathers on this Occasion showed a noble Spirit, and gave a Specimen what Virtue even the *Prospect of Liberty* can inspire. Though they were apprized of the Increase of his Power, by the Addition of four veteran Legions, (eighteen thousand Men^o), and had no immediate Force to oppose to him, they unani-

* *Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.*

^o The Martian and the Fourth, of *Hirtius's* Army; and the Sixth and Eighth, who had hitherto remained as it were *neuter*.

mously¹ rejected the insolent Proposal: not a Senator, not a Magistrate, nor even a Tribune of the People, seconded or supported the illegal Demand: A Firmness that amazed the Centurions; one of whom, like a true *Cæsarean*, had the Impudence to throw aside his Robe, discover a traiterous Sword, and clapping his Hand on the Hilt, said openly, *My Lords, if you will not, this shall make him Consul.*

But the recent Defeat of *Antony*, which at *Rome* was thought *decisive*, and their Trust in *Decimus*

¹ This is expressly affirmed by the best Authority *M. Cicero*, who was Present and bore a chief Part in the Refusal^{*}; it shows the foolish Malignity of those Writers who aver, that the *young Cæsar* proposed to the first *Consular* of *Rome* to seek that Honor *conjunctly* with *him*, and then, when he had obtained his Ends, cheated and abandoned him. Men capable, either through Negligence or Design, to deliver such Tales, so incoherent and easily confuted, for Truth, have too long met with Credit as *Historians*.

* Sed Cæsarem, meis consiliis adhuc gubernatum, præclara ipsum indole, admirabilique constantia, improbissimis litteris quidam, fallacibusque interpretibus ac nuntiis, impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus: quod simulatque sensi, nec ego illum absentem litteris monere destiti, nec accusare præsentem ejus necessarios, qui ejus cupiditati suffragari videbantur, nec in Senatu sceleratissimorum consiliorum fonteis aperire dubitavi: nec vero ullâ in re memini aut *Senatum* meliorem, aut Magistratus. Nunquam enim in honore extraordinario potentis hominis vel potentissimi potius, (quandoquidem potentia jam in vi posita est & Armis) accidit, ut nemo Tribunus pl. nemo alio Magistratû nemo privatus, auctor existeret. *M. Cicero ad M. Brutum. Ep. X. Compare this with,* Κικέρων μὲν δὴ, τοῖς ἐπαρθεῖς διὰ Φιλαρχίαν, — συνεβόλευν (τῇ Βουδῇ) θρασυτεῖαν τὸν ἄνδρα ὑβρισμένον (Καίσαρα) καὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ ἀρχούῃα πολλῶν — ὡς δ' αὖ τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελέσθαι τῶν τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἑμφρονος τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῆ παιδαγωγὸν ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἡ Βουδὴ τῆς Φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασεν. and the Falshood appears glaring.

Αππιαν. Εμφουλ. Βιβ. Γ.

and *Plancus*, kept up the Spirits of the Senators ; though I am apt to think , that the great Revolution in the *Eastern Provinces* (the News of which arrived about this Time) chiefly emboldened them to put the Negative on the *young Cæsar*.

Next to Pompey the Great's, no Roman's Name was more terrible to Enemies , or more precious to Friends in the East , than that of C. Cassius. Having gone *Questor* with the covetous *Crassus* , he early discovered superior *military Skill* : he dissuaded the Measures that made that Expedition so fatal to *Rome* , and by his Courage and Conduct saved the broken Remains of the Legions after the Defeat. This Retreat , made good through a vast and dispeopled Country , with a victorious Cavalry , the swiftest in the World , at his Heels , did him great Honor. For he was hotly pursued by the *Parthians* , and at last blocked up in *Antioch* : They knew but little of the Art of Sieges , and upon the Report of a *Roman Army* under *M. Cicero* , then Governor of *Cilicia* , marching that Way , abandoned the Blockade ; of which Cassius taking the Opportunity , followed close , fell upon them at a Disadvantage , gave their Leader *Osakes* , a Commander of great Name , his Death - Wound , and totally routed them. To wipe off this Stain , they soon returned in greater Number under *Pacorus* , (some say , the King's own Son) against whom *Cassius* , now strengthened by the Accession of more Forces , openly marched ² ,

² Κασσιος μὲν ἔν ἀναστράτοπεδευσάμενος , ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφρατην ἠπείγεται ἀπαντῶσιν τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιῖσι Παρδοῖς.

Ιωσηφ. Αρχ. : δ. β. 26.

foiled him in a fierce Encounter , and preserved *Syria* from the *Parthian* Ravages³. Here then, and in *Phenicia*, and along all the East Border of the Empire, the Name of *Cassius* was in veneration.

When *M. Brutus* and he parted at *Athens*, each with Intent to provide for their own and the *Republic's* Welfare, *Cassius*, on his Way to *Syria*, met with *Cn. Lentulus*, the Consul's Son, Proquestor of *Asia*; who upon *Dolabella's* Incur-sion had taken Refuge in *Brutus's* Camp; and returning after his Departure, had retained the Cavalry, and made new Levies in the Province. These, together with a large Sum, (the Provincial Tax) he delivered to *C. Cassius*, and by that Beginning of Power, enabled him to enter *Syria* with the Dignity of a General. When he came there, he found the Country in Confusion, and a civil War in the *Roman* Army. *Sextus Caesar*, a Youth who had been left by his Kinsman *Julius* as Governor; trusting to his Relation to the Dictator, had, by Insolence and Cruelty, provoked the abused Soldiery to mutiny and kill him. The Legion rebelled in Self-defence; and with *Cecilius Bassus* at their Head, (whether forced or willing, is uncertain) and six Thousand Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Princes, they took Possession of the strong Town of *Apamea*, and repulsed both

³ Cicero's Letters from *Cilicia*, written from flying Reports concerning the *Parthians*, are not very consistent with respect to *Cassius*: but he does him full Justice in the eleventh Philippic.

L. Staius Marcus, and *Q. Marcius Crispus*, who, with three Times their Number, came to reduce them. But these brave Men and good Citizens, no sooner heard of *Cassius's* Arrival, and of what was passing at *Rome*, than they resigned their Commands to the superior General, and cordially joined him in Defence of the Common-wealth. *Bassus* wanted to play a second Game, and shut the Gates of *Apamea*; as if he intended to stand a second Siege: But the *Mutineers* thinking this the proper Time to obtain Pardon, sent Commissioners to treat with that great *Roman*, and, in Spite of *Bassus*, delivered up themselves and the Town*. About the same Time, *Cassius* was informed, that the Proconsul, *A. Allienus*, *Dolabella's* Lieutenant, was marching up with four Legions (the Remains of the several Armies lately led to the East by the unhappy Triumvirate, *Crassus*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*) from *Egypt* through, what we call now the *Holy Land*. Thither he hastened to meet him; and at *Tarichea*, near his old Camp at *Capharnaum*, embodied the Forces under him into his own great Army, consisting now of above seventy thousand Men. As he knew the Weight of the impending War, and what was requisite for the Support of such an Army, he was obliged to take

* *L. Murci & Q. Crispi. Imperatorum dignitatem, quantum est in te, tuere: nam Bassus miserè noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites, invito eo, legatos ad me misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata.*

Measures accordingly, and both lay grievous Taxes on the Cities and States, and exact them with irremissible Rigor. It was an ungracious Piece of his Duty; but absolutely necessary, and no Fault of that eminent Captain, and worthy Citizen: the Blame lay on the *original Cause*, and grand Source of all the Miseries of the Empire, the wild *Ambition* of Julius Cæsar, and of the Successors to his Counsels and Crimes. Cassius being in the Neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, sent to Antipater, the Father of *Herod* the Great, then Prefect of Judea', and demanded a subsidy of *seven thousand Talents*, (about *one hundred and thirty thousand Pounds*). Laodicea, that had invited *Dolabella*, was not rased nor burnt, but so plundered as to be left next to desolate. The Tarsians too smarted severely for their Perversity in patronizing the *Cæsarean* Party: a Contribution was laid upon them of *fifteen hundred Talents*, about *two hundred and eighty thousand Pounds*, which reduced them to the Necessity, not only of stripping their Houses, Temples, and public Buildings of all their Ornaments, but of selling their Sons and Daughters for Slaves: a Pitch of Distress which coming to the General's Knowledge on his Return from *Syria*, melted him to such

¹ Αντιπατρος — πάσης Επιτροπος Ιερουσαλῆμ ἀποδείκνυται. — Κελευσθεν δὲ καὶ Ἱερουσαλῆμ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἑπτακόσια Τάλαντα, δείσας δ' Ἀντιπατρος τὴν ἀπειλὴν τῷ Κασσίου τοῖς τε υἱοῖς διέδωκεν εἰσπραττεῖν τὰ χρήματα, &c.

Compassion, that he granted them Immunity from all future Taxes.

Merit, if prosperous, cannot avoid Envy. There were not wanting livid Senators, who carped at *Brutus* and *Cassius*, for assuming to themselves the Command of Armies and Provinces, and Disposal of the Revenue, without *public Authority*; and that same String is harped upon by all the *Cæsa-rean* Penmen. They forget that the first free *Senate*, after the suppression of Tyranny, *ratified* these Provinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and that *C. Pansa*, before he set out with the new Levies for *Modena*, had *abrogated* the Laws and Ordinances violently passed by *Antony*. But they could only mutter in the Senate: the Patron of these Heroes was too great a Genius, and of too great Experience, to be pinched for *legal* Colors to paint the salutary Conduct of his Friends. For though he was constantly extolling the *ancient* Commonwealth, the Gravity and Severity of the *Senate*, and the strict Observation of the *sacred Rules* delivered by their Ancestors; though these were deservedly his favorite Topics, yet when the Exigencies of the Public required premature Honors to be bestowed, when the *Propretorial* Power was to be vested in the young *Octavius*, or the *Proconsular* in *M. Brutus*, he was at no Loss, in forming the Decree, how to reconcile the *ancient rigid Forms* of the unanimous Republic with the *Necessity of Affairs* arising from their present Degeneracy. And indeed, as Honesty is throe Policy, he uses no *Law-quirks*, employs no *Palliatives* to make them ply to one another: but

fairly and frankly owns, that the Deliverers of Rome had been forced, on some Occasions, to be a Senate to themselves; saying what was certainly true, ‘ That in such a Shock of Government, and Violation of public Order, wise Men were to govern themselves rather by the Exigencies of the present Times, than by the Usages of the past: They were to take the *most sacred of all Laws*, and *most inviolable Precedent*, the Liberty of their Country as the Rule of their Conduct. Thus, said he, M. Brutus did not wait for our Decrees, as he knew our *Intentions*, and instead of going to *Crete* his own Province, made straight for *Macedon*, where he looked upon every Thing as *his*, which You wish to be *yours*: he raised new Legions, received the old to his Service, brought over *Dolabella* the Consul’s Cavalry to himself before that Murderer had committed the horrid Parricide; and by his so doing declared him a public Enemy: How else should he have ventured to appropriate the Cavalry of the Consul? In the same Manner C. Cassius, with equal Magnanimity, left *Italy* to prevent that Incendiary from making himself Master of *Syria*. By what *Right* or *Law* — ? . . . by that which Jove himself framed, *That whatever is for the Good of the Common-wealth, shall be deemed legal and just!*’

In consequence hereof, he proposed the following Draught of a Decree to be enacted by the Senate, “ That whereas P. Cornelius Dolabella, and all who had been his Aiders, Abettors
or

“ or Assistants, in his cruel and atrocious Crimes
“ had been adjudged *Enemies to the State*; and
“ whereas the Senate had resolved, that the said
“ *P. Dolabella*, as one who with unheard of
“ Villany, had trampled upon all Laws, human
“ and divine, and polluted himself with an exe-
“ crable Parricide, should be prosecuted with Fire
“ and Sword, until he suffered the Punishment
“ required by Gods and Men; Therefore, The
“ Senate willed and decreed, that *C. Cassius*,
“ Proconsul, should govern the Province of *Syria*,
“ as having the best and most legal Title so to
“ do; — that he should receive into his Service
“ the several Armies under *Q. Marcius Crispus*,
“ *L. Statius Murcus* Proconsuls, and *Allienus*
“ Lieutenant-General, who are hereby authorized
“ to deliver them over to him; and that with
“ these, and whatever other Forces he may raise,
“ he make War on *Dolabella* by Sea and Land:
“ and for the better carrying on the same, that
“ he be vested with Power and Authority to
“ command in *Syria, Asia, Bithynia* and *Pontus*,
“ and to exact from the Cities and States therein,
“ what Money, Ships, Seamen, and warlike
“ Stores shall seem good to him; and that into
“ whatever Province of the Empire he shall come,
“ in Prosecution of this War, that there the
“ Power and Command of *C. Cassius* shall be
“ superior to *his*, who then governs that Pro-
“ vince: As also, That the two Kings, *Deiotarus*,
“ Father and Son, as they have in many Wars
“ assisted the Roman State, will likewise, in
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“ assisting *C. Cassius* with all their Forces and
 “ Power, do an agreeable Service to the *Roman*
 “ *Senate* and *People*; and in like Manner, what-
 “ ever other Kings, Tetrarchs*, Princes, shall
 “ do the same, that the Senate and People of
 “ *Rome* will not be unmindful of the Service.”

In Virtue of this Decree and of the former, granting the same Powers to *M. Brutus* in the Provinces on this Side the *Hellespont*, the whole Eastern Tract of the Empire from *Italy* to the *Euphrates*, was under the Government of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. The latter was not only known in these Parts by his *Parthian* Exploits; but by the higher Command he had bore of *Admiral* under *Pompey* during the unhappy civil War. This had made him famous all along the Coasts of *Syria*, *Asia*, *Pontus*, and the Islands; and his Bravery and Skill had been admired by the *Phenicians*, particularly the *Tyrians*, the greatest Seamen in the old World. While in this Command hearing that *Cæsar* was, with a few small Vessels, coming into the Mouth of the *Cydnus* in

* It was a Part of the *Roman* Policy, when they did not chuse to reduce a Country immediately into one of their own Provinces, to split the Government into four Parts, and put each into the Hands of the Descendants, or Kinsmen of the former Princes, according to their Demerit, and good Affection to *Rome*. These they called Tetrarchs, or *Governors of a fourth*. In this State they could not easily rebel, as one of the four was a Spy upon the others. Vid. *Virgil*. Lib. VI. lin. 851. *Ασυχον*. *Κεφ. γ. § 1.* *Horat.* *Satyr.* Lib. I. Sat. III. lin. 12.

Cilicia, *Cassius* formed a Design worthy of himself, to surprise him, and deliver *Rome* from her Oppressor. His Vessels were manned, and Cohorts laid in Ambush, when Fate reserved *Cæsar* to fall a Victim to Liberty in the Senate-house, by making him then land not on the Bank of the River he had determined, but on the opposite, where *Cassius* had made no Preparations⁷ to receive him. Being now again embarked in the same Cause, and *Commander in chief* by Sea as well as Land, he quickly gathered a formidable Fleet, manned it with the expertest Seamen, and seemed every Way in Condition to rescue the Republic out of rapacious Hands, and consummate the glorious Enterprize begun by him and *Brutus*, of re-establishing Liberty in *Rome*.

He therefore wrote on the seventh of *March* a public Letter to the Senate, and privately to *Cicero*, as the Head of it, to let them know what he had done, 'to bid them act boldly for the Republic, in Assurance of such powerful Support; and be persuaded, that the Army under his Command was *their* Army, and intended for the Protection of every worthy *Roman*'. Then hearing that *Dolabella* was come to *Cilicia*, invited by the slavish Inhabitants of

⁷ C. Cassius in eâ familia natus, quæ non modo dominatum sed ne potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre potuit,—hanc rem (mortem *Cæsaris*) in *Ciliciâ* ad ostium fluminis *Cydni* confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam ad quam constituerit, non ad contrariam naveis applicuisset.

Tarsus, (many of whom were *Jews*) he turned, and was taking his Route through *Phenicia*; but before he could reach *Syria*, the Ravager of *Asia*, driving from Town to Town, had made a violent Effort to break into *Antioch*, the Capital of the Province: he was repulsed with Loss by the Garrison; and upon the above-mentioned Invitation of the *Laodiceans*, (disaffected like the *Tarsians*,) had marched towards the Coast with all his Forces, now pretty considerable. Arrived at *Laodicea*, Dolabella broke down a Part of the Wall towards the *Isthmus*, within which the City stands, and joining by this Means the Town with his Camp, he ordered his Navy collected chiefly from *Lycia* and *Rhodes*, to take Shelter in the Port. But he had to do with a Man every Way his Superior. *Q. Cassius*, the General's Brother, had been busy equipping a Fleet, and pressing Seamen all along the *Asiatic* Coast; and being soon joined by the Admiral *Sextilius Rufus*, and the Rear-Admirals *Turulius* and *Patiscus* with their Squadrons, they blocked up *Laodicea* by Sea, while *Cassius* with his Army lay on the Land-side, and meant to conquer without coming to a Battle: But through the Backwardness of the corrupt Magistracy of *Rhodes*, and slow Rendezvous of his Fleet, it cost him three naval Engagements ere the Haven of *Laodicea* was securely blocked up. Then Famine began to appear both in Town and Camp, in its ugliest Shapes; and, after an unsuccessful Sally, *Dolabella's* own Soldiers, faithless like their Master, opened some

private Entries to the Enemy. An evil Conscience did not fail to suggest to him what he deserved for the inhuman Murder of *Trebonius*; or what he might expect from *Cassius*, that brave Man's intimate Friend. At the first Alarm of the Town's being taken, he hastily stretched out his Neck to a Slave, who struck off his guilty Head, and prevented a groundless Dread of Retaliation of the Cruelties he had exercised upon the *Proconsul*. For his trusty Lieutenant, *Octavius* the *Marsian*, conscious of the like Deserts, following his Leader's Example, *Cassius* ordered both their Bodies to be interred with Decency. Their Death left him Master of all *Asia*, from the Border of *Egypt* to the *Euxine*, and from the *Euphrates* to the *Egean* Sea. This rapid Run of Success being known in *Rome*, and that such powerful Armies were under the Command of Men of high Reputation for military Skill, and known Affection to the Cause of Liberty, raised the Spirit of the Senators, and made them steady in refusing the Consulship to the young *Cæsar*, though demanded by a sturdy Deputation of four hundred Veterans.

That ambitious Youth now pulled off the Mask; and showed that his seeming good Affection to his Country, and pretended Moderation towards her Deliverers, was all Diffimulation *.

* *Simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum, fasces & jus prætoris invaserat, cæsis Hirio & Pansa (sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulnere adfusus, sui milites Hirtium, & machinator doli Cæsar abstulerant) utriusque copias occupavisse.* Tacitus.

He now professed himself a true *Marian-Partisan*, an Enemy to the *Patricians* and *Senate*; and to give Proof of it, having fined the Citizens of *Norsia*, for inscribing on the Monument of those killed in the Battle of *Modena*, That *they fell fighting for Liberty*, in a sum far above their Abilities to pay; with equal Cruelty and Contradiction to his own Conduct, he sent his Soldiers among them, stripped them of all they had, and drove them, like Exiles, out of their Town. Then calling for his Prisoners, voted *Enemies* by the Senate, he openly dismissed them, with the

The comic Poet Cæfare Caporali, who was writ the *Life of Mæcenat* in the burlesque allegorical Strain, brought in vogue by *Berni* and *Molza*, and solely admired for some Time by the *Italians*, says, 'the young *Cæsar* at his Entry into *Rome* rode a dark bay Horse, without other Blemish then the Mark of Cn. Carbo (the Head of the *Marian* or *Plebeian* Faction) burnt on his Thigh; but his Saddle being ill stuffed, he was in hazard of being galled to the Bones: behind him rode Don *Mæcenat* of *Porfenna*, upon a little lame Pad, with the Halter tied to his Crupper'.

Venia il figliuol di Cefare —
 Sopra un morel di tutta perfezione,
 Senz' alcun Segno, fuor ch'in una cossa
 Stampato il marchio avea di Cneo Carbone:
 Ma quasi il cavalcava a la disdossa,
 Perocchè la Bardella senza Stoppa
 Gli faceva l'arcione premer su l'ossa.
 Presso a lui se n'venia una Zoppa
 Chineata, Don Mæcenate di Porfenna
 Con la cavezza attaccata a la Groppa.

Such was the *Italian Wit*!

Choice of either remaining with him, or returning to *Antony's* Service; and, to complete his Desertion and Disobedience, he procured an Oath to be taken by the Legions under his Command, *That they would never serve against any Army that had bore Arms under the late Julius Cæsar.*

The *Chiefs* of his Council had been Instruments of the Dictator, in overturning the Laws, and trampling upon the most sacred Ties of Humanity, *Corn. Balbus*, *Cn. Matius* and *Q. Oppius*. They kept a close Correspondence with the Tools of the same Faction in *Rome*, *C. Servilius Vatia*, *Calvisius Sabinus*, and *Antony's* Proxy, *Fufius Calenus*; by all whom, a young Man abundantly aspiring, unstable in the Paths of Virtue, and dazzled with Prospects of Power, was easily driven to cancel his Engagements, betray his Constituents, and become the Head of a Party, in which *they* hoped to find their *Grandeur*. To the above-named Persons of great Experience and Address, we must add a younger Set, who were *Men of Execution*; Commanders of the Legions, and at the same Time personal Favorites. These were *M. Salvidienus Rufus*, and *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, professed Soldiers: while *Cornelius Gallus*, and *C. Cilnius Mæcenas*, of Equestrian Rank, added Politeness and Literature to their Capacity for shining in either a civil or military Character. Surrounded with these, the young *Cæsar* took his March from *Modena* towards *Rome*, to stand Candidate for the Consulship, at the Head of forty thousand armed Men, and made good what *Cicero* said a little sarcastically to the

insolent *Centurion*, who laid his hand on his Sword, *If that be the Way, Friend, in which your Master petitions for the Consulship, he will surely obtain it.*

It is commonly believed, upon the Faith of the low Writers already named, that this old experienced Statesman was *over-reached* by the young *Cæsar*. If he was, it happened through the *Youth's* being a Rogue, and *Cicero* an honest Man,—by the former's abandoning his Friends, falsifying his Oaths, and not only taking Part with, but becoming himself an Enemy to the Common-wealth. What Prudence is Proof against Diffimulation and Perfidy? He had fairly entered the good Way,—was embarked in the best of Causes,—was dear to all good Men, and had the same Friends and Enemies with the most approved Patriots. He was not only making War upon *Antony*, grown formidable to the Senate, and odious to all Lovers of Liberty, but had hired Assassins to stab him while Consul; which, however base, left no Doubt of his Sincerity. *Cicero* therefore joining his Professions and Actions, not only believed him a real *Roman*, but, in a Manner, *undertook* for his good Behaviour to the Republic; and warmed by his Hopes and his own good Heart, did not scruple to engage, *That the young Cæsar would always be such a Citizen, as he appeared to be, the Day he marched to the Relief of D. Brutus, and to raise the Siege of Modena* *. Yet no sooner was he Conqueror, and

* Promitto, recipio, spondeo, P. C! C. *Cæsarem talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit.*

sole General, by the Death of the Consuls, than Cicero began to *doubt*², and by degrees his *Doubts* increased³, until the Youth's open Treachery finally cleared them.

The Senate mean While was busy in doing Honors to their faithful Servants, the deceas'd Consuls, and to the brave *Pontius Aquila*, *Decimus Brutus's* Lieutenant, who had fallen fighting by *Hirtius's* Side. Their Bodies were brought to *Rome*, a public Burial and noble Monument was voted for them in the *Campus Martius*, and M. Cornutus, the Pretor, had Authority from the Senate to agree with Undertakers for the Expenses of the most magnificent Obsequies: But their Death was so generally lamented, and their Loss so deeply felt by the Citizens, that amid the public Sorrow, People forgot their private Interest, and went out of their Character to do Honor to their Memory. The Company of *Undertakers*, usually not averse to Gain, frankly promised their personal Attendance, and the Use of all their Apparatus, *because they fell for the Commonwealth*: obstinately insisting with the Pretor, that the great Preparations necessary for the Funeral, should be contracted for with them for a Piece of Money, scarce of two-pence Value;

² Adolescentem ita multi labefactant, ut, ne moveatur, interdum extimescam.

Ad Brut.

³ Cum me pro adolescentulo Resp. accepisset *Vadem*, vix videbar quod promiseram præstare posse. — Sed omnes adhibeo machinas ad tenendum adolescentem.

Ad Brut.

which they in the End obtained*. Pontius Aquila, who besides dying for his Country, had formerly risked his Life on the memorable *Ides of March*, and spent his Patrimony along with *D. Brutus* in her Service, was honored separately with an *Equestrian Statue*, and the Money he had laid out in paying the Troops, was ordered to be repaid to his nearest Heirs.

In these Dispositions were the *Senate* and *People* of *Rome*, when they heard their late created Pretor, the young *Cæsar*, was in full March from *Modena*. The Fathers met, and though deserted by their own Army, and betrayed by their General, with great Firmness were giving Orders for new Levies, when two Legions from *Africa* happened, as if sent by Heaven for the Protection of the City, to land in the Mouth of the *Tiber*: But short-lived was the Joy inspired by their Arrival: for *Cæsar* no sooner approached, than debauched by their Fellow-soldiers in his Army, the two newly landed Legions deserted their Posts, and went over to his Service. Terror then of his Arms, and Dread of Massacre, made a Youth of Nineteen Years Consul of *Rome*, and he took a Cousin of his own *Q. Pedius*, well enough qualified to be a Tool, for his Colleague. This, strictly speaking, was the last Day of Liberty that rose upon the City, the Mother of Heroes and Mistresses of the World. Henceforth Freedom took her Flight, and banished from unhappy *Rome*, now insulted by her unnatural Sons, took Refuge under *Cassius*

* *Valerius Maximus*, Lib. V. cap. 2. § 10.

and *Brutus's* Banners, and resided in the Camps devoted to her Service. But neither a veteran Army, nor the highest Dignities can defend from the Guilt of Treachery and Ingratitude. C. Octavius, the adopted son of *Julius Cæsar*, for the Favors and Honors heaped upon him by his Country, returned Insult and Violence. The Armies given him by the Republic he led against itself; and *he*, who ought not to have set his Foot within the Walls, even on a Day of Triumph, without Permission from the Fathers, and to whom for that Reason, when returning with a victorious Army, a Senate would have been called without the Walls, now marched into Town with Ensigns displayed, as into a Captive-City: there he threatened to spill *their* Blood for whom he had sworn to be profuse of his *own*. He thought he stood too low and obscure, if he did not trample upon the Republic, and raise himself above the sacred Laws of the Empire. Liberty, chased from her once glorious Residence, saw Swords and Javelins instead the Pretor's Tribunal, or Edile's Curule Chair; and the Roman People, once the Conqueror and Civilizer of Nations, having driven War to distant Regions, and suppressed every Terror from a foreign Enemy, was now besieged in their own Walls, and trembled at the Sight of their own Eagles¹. Unhappy, misguided Youth! blind to thy true Interest! preferring Guilt to real Grandeur, and Infamy to lasting Honor! hadst thou continued steady in the

¹ Seneca de Benef. Lib. V. § 15.

Road to Glory, hadst thou subdued the Foes of Freedom, and cordially supported her Friends, how precious had been thy Life, how lamented thy Death, and *unspotted* thy Name! Whereas now, thy Dawn is remembered with Detestation, as a *Traitor* false to thy Country! false to thy Friends! while all the Policy and Cunning of thy after-Days, cannot wash out the Stains of thy *early* Perfidy.

The first three Steps taken by the new Consul were of a Piece with his Way of obtaining that Dignity. First he seized upon all the public Money, and divided it among his Soldiers; others say among the Commonalty, as the Remainder of his Father's Legacy: next, he repealed the Decree by which *Dolabella* had been voted an Enemy to the State; and then, in his Colleague's Name, he preferred a Law, (having filled the *Forum* with his *Veterans*) for prosecuting the Deliverers of *Rome*, under the Appellation of *the Murderers of the late Cæsar*. Some of the elder Citizens, who had seen the glorious Days of Liberty, could not contain their Tears, but wept aloud when they heard the Crier cite *Brutus* and *Cassius*, the first and best of Men, to answer as *Murderers*; for which Marks of Humanity, they were themselves soon after put barbarously to Death. But by this Law above seventy of the Men of the greatest Spirit and Bravery in the Empire, were impeached, some in one *Cæsarean's* name, and some in another's; and as they did not appear to answer at the appointed Day, they were condemned of course, and after the *Roman* Form, forbid the use of Fire and Water. *Icilius* a Senator

and one of the Judges, had the Integrity and Courage, in the Face of the young Usurper, when all the Rest were throwing in the black Ballot, openly to put the white one in the Urn; for which he was afterwards buried among the Ruins of Liberty and the Republic.

A little before *Cæsar* approached with his Army, *Cicero*, who had still Hopes to *temper*, if he could not *direct* his Counsels, wrote a Letter to him, in which he warmly pressed him to *heal the Wounds of the Common-wealth*, and let him know, for that End, That one Thing was expected of him, that he would be pleased to grant to Brutus and Cassius, and to those Citizens for whom good Men, and the Roman People had the greatest Regard, secure Enjoyment of their Lives and Fortunes. A Copy of this Letter was sent by *Cicero* to *Atticus*, and an Extract of what concerned Brutus was transmitted to him by their common Friend. Brutus looked upon *Octavius* (as he usually called him) as little better than a Boy, of small Consequence in the State, and believed that *Antony* was irretrievably ruined. He had been himself the Soul and Head of the Union that had lately rescued Rome, and taken Vengeance on her Oppressor; had just defeated *C. Antony*, recovered *Macedon* and *Greece*, and was now at the Head of sixty thousand Men. Prayers and Entreaties to a Boy for his Safety did not sound well in his Ears. He read them with Indignation, — which yet he suppressed, until *Atticus* urged him to write, by acquainting him, That *Cicero* thought it strange he never signified

his Opinion of *his* (Cicero's) Proceedings. It was then he wrote his Sentiments fully to both, in two Letters, made famous by various Translations, and more various Opinions about them: while some look upon them as the Effects of a peevish querulous Temper, and others admire them as the genuine Dictates of exalted Patriotism.

Cicero and Brutus were both great and good Men; both aiming at one and the same Point, the *Restitution of Liberty*, and *Welfare of the State*. But they were Men of very different Characters; the one cautious, delicate and smooth; adapting himself to the Times, and employing *Addresses* to reach his Ends: The other bold, resolute and plain; requiring through conscious Rectitude, *the Times to bow to him*, and to his Contempt of the Terrors that sway common Men. Each of them acted and wrote (as all Mankind do) in their *own* Character. Cicero, prudent, complaisant and unwarlike; treated — soothed — complimented — and used all the *Arts* of Negociation. Brutus, the Bane of *Tyrants*, bred in Camps, and born for *Action*, disdained to demean himself, or forget his Dignity; but openly threatened the Enemies of *Liberty* and *Rome*. To exalt the one of these Patriots, and depress the other; — to extol the Statesman at the expense of the Hero, or the contrary, is the Part of a *Novice*, unacquainted with Business, or of a *Recluse*, little conversant with the Characters of Men.

After these Acts of Violence, and Desertion of his old Friends, the young *Cæsar* marched back to

Gaul to meet his new ones *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were now joined, and advancing towards *Italy*. To cover his Treachery, the subsequent Historians, and particularly that arch Flatterer *Velleius Paterculus**, are at great Pains to let us know, that the first Proposition of *Cæsar's* changing Sides, and entering into a Confederacy with the Enemies of his Country, came from *Antony*. But this Palliative, thin as it is, appears to be false; as the later Writers, though zealous *Cæsareans*, scruple not to own, that the first Advances were made by the deceitful *Cæsar*†. After his shuffling with *D. Brutus*, and neither coming himself, nor sending the promised Legions, that brave Man marched, as was said, in Pursuit of *Antony*, with an Army of Recruits, and one veteran Legion. Amidst the greatest Hardships, and with immense difficulty, *Antony* crossed the *Alps*, and on the fifteenth of *May*, came with his shattered Remains to *Frejus* in *Provence*, two Days before his Lieutenant *Ventidius*. Upon the Rumor of the War at *Modena*, *Lepidus* had been called from *Lyons*, and was encamped at *le Luc*, upon the *Argens*, within four-and-twenty Miles of him. *Munatius Plancus* had passed the *Rhone*, the End of *April*, and was lying upon the Banks of the *Isere* in *Dauphiny*: he had set a Negotiation on foot with *Lepidus*,

* *Plancus, adulandi artifex ante Velleium maximus.*

Seneca Nat. Qu. Lib. IV.

† Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει τὰς ἐς Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις —

though formerly at Variance, to join Armies, in Opposition to *Antony*, voted an Enemy, if he should enter their Province. *Lepidus* had a veteran Army trained by the late *Cæsar*, and but ill affected to the Republic; but his Lieutenant-General *Juven-tius Laterensis*, a Man of Probity and Honor, was incessantly pressing him to respect his Country, and join the better Party. He had made a Journey to *Plancus's* Camp, to complete the Reconciliation; and at Length so far prevailed as to make *Lepidus* finally engage, and sign a Letter of Invitation to *Plancus*, to come and join Camps with him, against the Enemy of *Rome*.

Hereupon *Plancus*, who had passed the *Isere*, decamped on the nineteenth of May, leaving a Bridge with a strong Guard; and having sent the Flower of his Cavalry before, under his Brother *Plotius*, zealous for the Republic, to intercept *Lucius Antony*, was intending to make a great Stretch towards *le Luc*. But after the first Day's March he was met by a Courier from *Lepidus*, with Letters forbidding him to advance a Step farther; for that the General would be able enough to cope with *Antony* by himself. *Lepidus's* Insignificance was well known to *Plancus*; he did not mind the Prohibition, as thinking it was to hinder him from sharing in the Glory of crushing the Invader; and at the same Time, hoping his Neighbourhood would confirm the *sound*, and check the corrupt Part of *Lepidus's* Troops, he marched on, and came within forty Miles of *le Luc*. But here he received a Letter from the Lieutenant-General

General *Laterensis*, acquainting him, *There was no hope of that Army, which was all corrupted; nor of Lepidus, who was a Traitor; — that he himself was abandoned, and could only save his Honor, and disengage his Faith plighted for Lepidus in the late Treaty, by giving Plancus due warning not to trust him, nor be circumvented; but to do his duty to his Country and the Commonwealth.* At the same Time he was told, that *Lepidus* having called his Soldiers to his Tribunal, made a frivolous Speech to sound their Inclinations; when they, good Men! taught by *Canidius* and *Rufrenus*, and other such Birds of Prey, cried out, *They were for Peace, and would fight with no body.* This mutinous Declaration in the midst of a civil War, that had swept off two Consuls, and so many eminent Citizens, while the Rebels were newly attainted and forfeited, was neither checked by the worthless *Lepidus*, nor was he at the least Pains to chastise its Authors. *Plancus* then saw he was hatching Treason: for he had carried on a *Farce* with *Antony*, now advanced from *Frejus*, — had forbid him to enter his Camp, or debauch his Men; and then, had connived at close Conferences between their Soldiers, at a Bridge of Boats being laid over the *Argens*, that separated their Camps, and at his own People breaking down a Part of the Rampart to receive *Antony*, as if contrary to their General's Orders. At this fallacious Reception of *Antony*, the high-spirited *Laterensis*, who in open Council had vehemently pressed *Lepidus* not to join himself to a Desperado denounced

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an Enemy by the Senate, finding his Advice rejected, and himself deserted, had recourse to a *Roman Remedy*, and fell upon a Sword that would have been better employed against the Traitor. He had a public Funeral decreed to him by the Senate, an Oration made in his Praise, and his Statue erected in the Place of that of *Lepidus* which they overturned. This double Game was played on the twenty-seventh of *May*, and next Day both Armies made a joint Movement towards *Plancus*, whom the worthless high Priest had been inviting anew to come nearer, that he might surround and force him to a Concurrence. They were within twenty Miles of his Camp, when *Plancus* receiving Intelligence of their Approach, with equal Speed and Caution having regained the *Isere*, the third of *June*, he broke down his Bridge, and resolved to wait the coming of his Colleague *D. Brutus*, who was within three Days March of him. Brutus, was at *Vercells* in *Piedmont*, on the eighteenth of *May*, and at *Ivray* on the twenty-first, when he had received, no Doubt from *Plancus*, favorable Accounts of *Lepidus's* pretended Affection to the Common-wealth; but before the second of *June*, his former Suspicions were confirmed, he knew all was wrong, passed the Mountains, and hastened down to join *Plancus* in *Dauphiny*.

He took his Route through the *Val d'Aost*, then inhabited by the *Salassi*, a bold untamed Tribe, who had formerly plundered *Julius Cæsar's* Baggage, had made *Messala* the Consul pay for Wood, for Fuel and Weapons; and now taking advan-

tage of the *Roman* Diffensions, and of the Urgency of *Brutus's* March, possessed themselves of the Rocks at the Mouth of the Pass, and of the Mountains on both Sides, demanding for free Passage, seven Pence *per Man* *: This *Brutus* chose to pay, rather than lose Time and Troops in forcing his Way to his Colleague, upon his Junction with whom both his own and the public Safety depended. And now the War was as much to begin as before the Victory at *Modena*. Antony had picked up about nine thousand ill-armed Men in his Flight, besides his Cavalry, which had come off entire, and which was his chief Strength until he was joined by *Ventidius* with three Legions; these being added to *Lepidus's* six, (among whom was *Cæsar's* famous *tenth*, which *Antony* had often commanded) he was again at the Head of a formidable Army of sixty thousand Men, besides a noble Cavalry.

On the other Side, in the joint Camp of the Consuls elect were *four* veteran Legions, *one* of two Years Service, and *nine* Legions new levied; that is, upwards of *eighty thousand* Men, an Army far superior in Number, and inferior in Strength. The two Battles however at *Castel franca* and *Modena* had taught *Antony* more Caution in con-

* 'Οι Σαλλασσοι ἢ Δεκίμων Βρυτον Φυγόντα ἐκ Μουτίνης ἐπράξαντο δραχμὴν κατὰ ἄνδρα. Μεσσαλας δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν χειμαδεύων, τιμὴν ξύλων κατέβαλε τῶν τε καυσίμων, ἢ τῶν πλεείνων ἀκοντισμάτων ἐσύλησαν δὲ ποτὶ ἢ χρήματα Καίσαρος.

ducting the War than he had formerly used: he was not so forward to attack this Pair of Consuls, as he had been to rush upon *Hirtius* and *Pansa*; but waited the Approach of *Asinius Pollio* from *Spain*, whom he reckoned his Friend: and in the mean While let his military Interest, and the Hopes of the Spoils of *Italy*, operate among his old plundering Companions in the *Gallic* and *civil* Wars. Nor did his guilty Hopes deceive him: these corrupt Views soon made him not only wholly Master of *Lepidus's* Army, though he left him the Name of General, and the empty *Ensigns* of Command; but *Asinius Pollio*, contrary to his ample Professions of Patriotism made to *Cicero**, both disposed his own Army to rebel, and in his Passage, abused the Friendship he had with *Plancus*, to disunite him from his Colleague *D. Brutus*, and bring him over to the Enemies of the Commonwealth.

The two *Consuls elect* had for some Time acted with great mutual Confidence and Unanimity: But the Acquisition made by *Antony* of the Strength of *Lepidus*, the News from Rome of *Cæsar's* usurping the Consulship, and the Persuasions of *Pollio*, were too strong for the Constancy of *Plancus*.

* Nemini nostrum cessandum est — res enim cogit huic tanto incendio succurrere omnes, qui aut Imperium aut nomen denique Pop. R. salvum esse volunt — præsertim cum nihil sit periculosius, quam spatium confirmandi sese Antonio dari — ego neque deesse, neque superesse Reip. volo.

Ad Cicer. Lib. X. Ep. 33.

He first wavered, then gave Way, and at last attempted to gain Merit with his new Friends, by destroying his old, and laid a Snare for *D. Brutus*, in Order to deliver him to *Antony*. The Discovery of this Baseness quickly separated the Camps of the Consuls. *Plancus* joined *Antony* and *Lepidus*; and *Brutus* marched farther into *Gaul*, towards *Switzerland* and the Rise of the *Rhine*. He was now no Match for the Enemies of *Rome*; whose Legions, corrupted by her Oppressor *Julius Cæsar*, were again conspiring under his Captains and adopted Son, to re-enslave the Republic made free by his Death. *Decimus* could not return by the Route he had come, through the *Alps*: the Difficulties he had met with, *Antony* behind, and *Cæsar* before, left him no Choice, but to undertake a dreadful Circuit through the Country of the *Grisons*, round the Head of the Gulph of *Venice*, and so down through *Illyricum*, to his Friend *Marcus Brutus*, who was lying with his great Army in *Epirus* and *Macedon*. But though the Spirit of the General was equal to this hardy Enterprize, the Patience of the Troops was not. Dispirited with their former Fatigues, and present Sufferings, they went, like all *Mercenaries*¹, where they expected more Licence and less Toil; they deserted in Battalions, the Veterans to *Antony*, and the new Levies, some to *Plancus*, and

¹ *Nulla fides pietasve viris, qui castra sequuntur,
Venaleisque manus: ibi fas, ubi plurima merces.*

Lucan. Lib. X.

some to *Cæsar*, which was one and the same Thing.

Thus the whole military Power in the Western Parts of the Empire, was, through the Treachery of the Captains, and the Debauchery of the Troops, turned against the Authority that put Arms in their Hands; for the great Commands of the Republic having been filled with *Cæsar's* Creatures, when his Success settled Iniquity by Law²; and the peaceful Act of the Senate ratifying his Nominations, having kept them in these Commands, they all trimmed, and made fair professions while they thought Liberty was to prevail: But now, that by the Accidents above narrated, the Soldiery came to be drawn together, and their Chiefs thought themselves an Overmatch for their Country, they threw off the Masque, and showed themselves true *Cæsareans*³.

At present, the general Odium of the renewed War fell upon *Lepidus*⁴, who upon the last Day

² Jusque datum sceleri. —

Ibid. Lib. I.

³ Post interitum Cæsaris, & vestras illas memorabiles Idus Martias, *Brute!* magna pestis erat depulsa per vos, magna Pop. R. macula delata. — Sed *Instrumentum Regni* delatum ad *Lepidum* & *Antonium*, quorum alter inconstanter, alter impurior; uterque pacem metuens, inimicus otio. His ardentibus perturbandæ Reip. cupiditate, &c.

Cicer. ad Brut.

⁴ Præclare viceramus, nisi spoliatum, inermem, fugientem, *Lepidus* recepisset *Antonium*. Itaque nunquam tanto

of *June* was voted an Enemy to the State as well as *Antony*; as were all who did not quit their Camp before the first of *September*. There was never any Good to be expected from him. He had been long of *Cæsar's* Gang, where, if he had any Spark of *Worth* or *Patriotism*, it must have been extinguished: he was closely connected with *Antony*, who had, while *Consul*, violently translated the Election from the People to the Colleges, to get him chosen *High Priest*, and then made a Marriage between his Daughter and *Lepidus's* Son. This, joined with a peculiar Stamp of *Insignificancy* in the Man himself, made him an easy Prey to the *Cæsarean* Chieftains, and a Foe to the Commonwealth.

Decimus Brutus deserted in his Flight by his Legions, and afterwards by his *Pretorian-Guard*, was reduced first to three hundred Men; and then, by their dropping off at the Passes of Rivers and Mountains, to ten, the chief of whom was *Ser. Terentius* his Lieutenant. With these he hoped to travel undiscovered; changed his *Roman* for the *Gallie* Garb, and speaking the Language easily, passed for a *Celt* until he came near to *Aquileia*. There he was overtaken by a Band of *Banditti*, who infested the Mountains, was stripped, and made a Prisoner. In this Condition he asked, to what Chieftain's Territories they belonged? and

odio civitati *Antonius* fuit, quanto est *Lepidus*: ille enim ex turbulentâ rep. hic ex pace & victoriâ bellum excitavit.

Cicero ad Cassium.

one Camillus or Capenus being named, whom he had often obliged while Lieutenant-Governor of *Gaul*, he desired to be led to him. At the Sight of a *Roman* Senator, *Camillus* pretended to be in Wrath with the Rascals who had bound so great a Man, ordered him to be instantly unloosed, received him with great Demonstrations of Submission and Kindness; and at the same Time sent private Notice to *Antony* what a Guest he had in his House. *Furius* a Centurion was forthwith ordered off with a Troop of Horse to dispatch the Patriot. At their Approach, *Brutus* slept into a darksome Place to elude the Search: But the Troopers breaking in, his faithful Friend *Ser. Terentius*, thought he might pass for his General, slept forward in the dark, and told them, if they wanted *D. Brutus*, he was the Man. The pious Fraud did not pass: *Furius* knew his Voice, and upon farther Search, discovered the unhappy *Decimus*, so beloved by his Followers, that another of them, *Helvius Bleso*, fell upon his Sword, that his Eyes might not see the Death of his General.

' The *Cæsarean* Writers have endeavoured to blemish this Patriot's Memory, and told a mean Story of his Unwillingness to submit to the fatal Stroke. It is very improbable, that a Man who had affronted Death on so many Occasions, should startle at the final Necessity: But though it were true, it only shows the well known Difference between the same Person at the Head of a Legion, facing Perils from an Enemy, and on a Scaffold from the Hand of an Executioner. Witness the famous *Lodovic Sforza*, Duke of

This great Man, among many of the young martial Nobility, had followed Cæsar into *Gaul*, where he so distinguished both his Courage and Capacity, as to rise to be *Lieutenant-General*; and being once entangled in *Cæsar's* Service, in a War seemingly lawful, he was prevailed upon to continue with him in the unlawful Attempt upon his Country, which *Julius* held forth as a Party, or rather *personal* Struggle between him and *Pompey*. But after that eminent Man's Death, *Cæsar* giving no Signs of any Intention to restore Liberty, the *Roman* Spirit awoke in *Decimus Brutus* at the first Proposal of rescuing his oppressed Country, and he zealously joined the Patriots united in her Delivery. After the Restoration, he was the first Man whom *Antony* (treading in *Cæsar's* Steps) openly attacked, and was so nobly disinterested in the public Cause, as to spend upwards of three hundred and twenty thousands Pounds of his own, and run all his Friends in Debt, in opposing the new Invader. Two Actions of his discover a generous Nature. During the celebrated Siege of *Modena*, a Senator shut up with him, Weary of the Confinement, or from Views of Ambition, took the Opportunity of a dark Night, and deserted to the Enemy. *Decimus* resented this Trea-

*Milan** the Marechal *Biron*, the Counts *Vitolezzo* and *Frangipani*, &c.

* Ce misérable Duc, mis dans un Cachot, se voyant privé de la lumière --- fût saisi d'une forte apprehension de la mort, que la nuit même son poil, qui étoit fort noir, devint tout blanc.

chery, by calling together the Deserter's Servants, bidding them pack carefully up their Master's Baggage, and carry whatever belonged to him safe to Antony's Camp. The other Piece of Generosity happened upon the Banks of the Rhine: When he found it difficult to lead such a Body, especially of *Horse*, as made up his *Pretorian Guard*, over so many Rivers and Mountains, he called them to his Tribunal, and gave them not only Leave to depart to their own Homes, but taking his military Chest, he divided the Treasure among the faithful Followers of his Fortunes. Indeed, Magnificence and Bravery run through his whole Character; and there appears in his *Letters a sound Sense*, joined to a *nervous clear Expression*, becoming the Man of Business and the Soldier. He now fell a Sacrifice to the Fury of the *new Oppressors of Rome*, who could never hope to prosper in their wicked Purposes, while Men of his Spirit and Influence were alive to oppose them.

As his Death left them without Control in the Western Parts of the Empire, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, with their new Associates *Plancus* and *Pollio*, repassed the *Alps*; and the Stripling-Consul, *Cæsar*, by slow Marches through the now *papal Territories*, met them near *Bologna*. There the *three Chiefs* had an Interview, like Men meeting without Faith or Friendship, and only cemented by the worst Designs. The Place of their Congress was a small Island made by the *Reno*, that glides by *Bologna*; which separated their Camps, consisting each of five Legions, and which is seldom

mentioned without Marks of Detestation*. Men trusting in Violence, conscious of Murders, Assassinations, and Treason, could not well come together without a Mediator. *Lepidus* had that honorable Office between the bitter Enemies, *Antony* and the young *Cæsar*. Bridges were laid from the opposite Banks, a strong Guard of an equal Number from either Army placed at each, and then the *Mediator*, as an equal Friend to both, passed over by himself, to search the Place, and prevent Treachery. Upon the concerted Sign, that that there was no hidden Snare, *Antony* advanced from one Side, and *Cæsar* from the other; where the first Ceremony of their Saluting was, to search one another's Clothes for a concealed Dagger, or other deadly Weapon. — Then the twenty year old Consul sat down in the middle; and they three, after close and secret Consultation for two days, came, in Confidence of their Veterans, to the following horrible Resolutions.

I. To march directly to *Rome*, destroy the legal Government, and, under the Title of *Triumvirs*

* Ponte à Laino, luogo su la Strada maestra, distante cinque miglia da Bologna, e famoso per la memoria dell' abboccamento di Lepido, Marcantonio, ed Ottaviano, i quali quivi sotto nome del Triumvirato stabilirono la Tirannide di Roma, e quella non mai a bastanza detestata Proscrizione.

F. Guicciardini, Lib. ix.

If this be the real Place, it is upon the *Laino* or *Lavino* (not the *Reno*) another of the little Streams that water the *Bolognese* on their Way to the *Po*.

for regulating the Common-wealth, to erect a Tyranny in their own Persons, with equal Power for five Years. II. To put their *own* Enemies, that is, all the *Friends of Liberty*, and all the Men of *great Estates*, instantly to death, and seize upon their Fortunes. III. To expel the Inhabitants of *seven* and *twenty* of the richest Towns and Roman Colonies in *Italy*, and divide them, with all the Lands belonging to them, among the Soldiers. IV. To distribute the Western Governments of the Empire, so as the two nearer Gauls should be held by *Antony*, the farther, and *Spain* by *Lepidus*, and *Afric* with the Islands *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, by the young *Cæsar*. V. That *he* and *Antony* should next Spring go against the remaining Friends of Liberty, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, leading *twenty* Legions each; and that *Lepidus* with *three* should remain to guard the City, and prevent *Insurrections against the Usurpers*.

Of all these shocking Resolves, it was the *second* that cost the longest Time and Struggle to adjust; while the Enemy of one of the three Usurpers, was a Friend to either of the other, and they again demanded *Compensation* for the Sacrifice of a Brother, Uncle, or other Kinsman given up to the Sword. This bloody Barter is perhaps the most horrid Transaction upon Record in the human Story. What the Savages of the Woods do not commit upon their own Kind, and much less upon their Progeny, *that* these *three Men* committed upon their nearest Relations. *Lepidus* consented to the Murder of his own Brother *Emi-*

lius Paulus, as a Friend to the *Republic*; *Antony* gave up the good and upright *L. Cæsar*, his Mother's Brother for the same Reason; and *Octavius*, with feigned Reluctancy, consented to the Destruction of *Torannius* his Tutor, and, to his eternal Reproach, of the Man whom for a twelve-month he had been calling his *Father*, *M. T. Cicero*. *Plancus*, next in Power to the three Tyrants, and *Asinius Pollio*, had the one a Brother, *L. Plotius*, then Pretor, and the other a Father-in-law *Quintius*, suspected of good Inclinations, and therefore both doomed to Assassination.

It was said, that in their *first* Meetings, the young *Cæsar* declared against all Proscription and Murder; but being once brought over, he outstript them both in Barbarity, strenuously insisting that *they should not spare a Man well affected to the Republic*. This Behaviour is shrewdly to be suspected of Cowardice: Timorous Natures cannot look so terrible an Object in the Face as their *dearest* Friends, and the *first* of Men, butchered by *Ruffians*, and weltering in their Blood; but when once embarked, they are as much afraid of the *Rebound*, and therefore pursue the Carnage with redoubled Cruelty; as Women, when they rob, are apter to murder than their male Accomplices. In concerting the dreadful Massacre of the Protestants, *Charles IX.* of France, behaved in the self same Manner as the young *Cæsar*. When it was proposed to take off the principal Men only, after some Struggle to consent even to that, the King

swore an Oath, *That since it must be so, he would not have one Protestant left alive to upbraid him thereafter*’.

These Resolutions, excepting the bloody one of the *Massacre*,) Cæsar, who as *Consul* should have been the *Father of his Country*, the Protector of the oppressed, and Supporter of the Laws, had the Heart to promulgate among the Acclamations of the Plunderers that surrounded them: But their *Officers* dreading, not without Cause, a Rupture in this Friendship, so suddenly patched up between their Chiefs, which might rob them of their Booty, and force them again to draw the Sword, on opposite Sides, pressed their Leaders to contract some Sort of Affinity, by a Marriage between *Antony’s* Daughter-in-law *Clodia* (a Child of *Fulvia’s* by the infamous *Tribune*) and the young *Cæsar*. He was then engaged to *Servilia*, the *Isaurian’s* Daughter of that name; but after trampling upon every sacred Tie, *that* was easily got over, and he was betrothed to this young Creature before she was marriageable.

And now they marched towards Rome, once the Mistress of Nations, and Glory of the Human Race. The City, whose Name struck Terror into remotest Barbarians, now trembled at the

’ On a dit que du commencement, on ne parla que de tuer les principaux chefs: mais que le Roi, après avoir eu peine à s’y résoudre, ajouta, en jurant à son ordinaire, *Hé bien, puisqu’il le faut, je ne veux pas qu’il en reste un seul qui me le puisse reprocher.*

Mezerari Anno 1572.

approach of her own Sons. A Gloom, like an invading Pestilence, or impending Meteor, hung over it. The Return of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who had been voted Enemies, with armed Force, and instead of Opposition, in confederacy with the perfidious Youth who had just betrayed the State, extorted the Consulship, and impeached the *first* and *best* of the Romans, was a Thought that chilled the Blood of the Inhabitants. At first a silent Horror reigned, which soon gave Way to the Hurry and Confusion of a precipitate Flight. M. Cicero and all the Patriots who had supported him, all the ancient Nobility, all the Knight-hood of the better Party, were forced to abandon their Houses, and fly from the Swords of the Veterans to save their Lives.

The first *Taste* of the Triumvir's Government was a List of *twelve*, or as others say, of *seventeen* Senators, and Magistrates, the chief of whom was M. Cicero, marked out for Destruction, sent to Town by a Party of Troopers, with Orders to dispatch them without Ceremony where-ever they found them: and accordingly the Tribune *Salvius*, whose Person was sacred, and the Pretor *Minutius*, were murdered; the one sitting at Dinner in his own House, and the other walking in the Forum. — This Barbarity raised an Alarm in the City as if they had been all destined for Slaughter; and the poor *Pedius*, who lately lent his Name to the Impeachment of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, running about the Streets all Night, from one Magistrate's House to another, to quiet their Minds, by showing

them the *partial* List, put his Blood in such a Ferment, that he died next Day. But the Amount of the black Catalogue made up by the Triumvirs consisted of no less than *one hundred and forty* Senators⁸, and of *two thousand* of the best Gentlemen of Rome, who were all to be hunted down by the Veterans, and butchered where ever they were found.

To put it in Execution, the *three Tyrants* entered the City on three successive Days; first *Cæsar*, then *Antony*, and then *Lepidus*, (whom they were to make Consul in Place of *Decimus Brutus*), and immediately the Sentence of Death was published against their nearest Friends, to show that *others* needed expect no Mercy; and then they emitted the Edict or Act of Proscription. The Form of it is recorded by *Appian*, and shows that there is no Conduct, so crooked or inhuman, but *Colors* may be found to sanctify it⁹; and accordingly the later Historians, who wrote when the Succession to the Empire was settled on the *Cæsarean* Foot, mention that horrible Tragedy, acted by the *Triumvirs*, with Abundance of Moderation.¹ That polite

⁸ Others say *three hundred* Senators, and *two thousand five hundred* Citizens.

⁹ It was dictated, they say, by the *young Cæsar* in Time of dinner to M. Antony, who acted the *Clerk*.

Seneca de Clem. Lib. I.

² Syllani Exemplum Mali Proscriptio Instauratum.

Vel. Paterc. Lib. II.

Prostitute

Prostitute *Velleius*, smoothes over their execrable Deeds, with telling coolly, *that the evil Pattern of Sylla's Proscription was imitated*. God forbid that I should attempt to alleviate the atrocious Cruelties committed by Sylla! But he had high Provocation: he was not the first to *begin* Blood-shed; what he did was pure Revenge; and his fiercest Deed, (killing so many of the Commons shut up together) was a *Retaliation* of a like Barbarity. *L. Damasippus* the Plebeian Pretor, at the instigation of the merciless Marius, had called the Senate as if upon public Business, and when they were met, he suddenly surrounded the Senate-House with Soldiery, and cut the Throats of all the Nobility there assembled. But the bloody *Triumvirs* had no Color nor Species of a Cause for their savage Procedure, except the Pretence of *avenging the Death of a Traitor* upon free Men, standing up for their native Rights, and nobly asserting the Laws and Liberties of Rome.

The Tenor of the Edict bore, ' *That no person of what Quality or Station soever, should presume to assist, conceal, or convey away any of the Men whose Names were under-written, under Penalty of being added to the List of the condemned; that for every Head of those brought to the Forum, the Triumvirs would pay a Premium of eight hundred Pounds, if brought by a free-Man, and of sixty Pounds if by a Slave, besides giving him his Liberty. That the same Sums should be likewise paid to Informers; and for their security no Man's Name who received Money for a condemned Person's Head, or for giving Information; should be entered into*

any Book or Register kept by the Triumvirs. At the same Instant this horrid Edict was affixed, the Gates of the City were shut, Guards set upon them, and upon the Bridges, Ports, and even upon the Lakes, Fens, Woods, or other hiding Places all around *Rome*; and then the blood-thirsty Centurions were let loose to *search* and to *slay*. In a Moment the *Capital* of the habitable World, became a Scene of Villany, Perfidy, and Carnage, such as the Sun had never witnessed: The execrable Edict was an *Invitation* to perpetrate all Manner of Wickedness, and called forth, by Impunity and Premiums, all the latent Poison, all the Impiety, Treachery, and Ingratitude that taint the Dregs of a corrupt People. It armed Sons against their Fathers, Wives against their Husbands, Servants against their Masters, and like its *Authors*, trampled upon every thing Sacred among Men. What remained of the vital Blood of *Rome* unshed by the Sword of *Julius*, was now, to the Power of the Tyrant, spilt to the last Drop. Order was reversed—*Villany* triumphed,—and *Virtue* was a mortal Crime. The Princes of the *Senate*, the venerable Magistrates, the *Consuls* and *Pretors*, lately commanding Kings and Kingdoms, were now making away with themselves: or, if they loved Life, were falling on their Knees before their own Slaves, begging in vain for Protection and Concealment. The young *Heirs* of noble Families, were compelled, in the Innocence of Nonage, to take the manly Gown, in order to have their Throats *legally* cut, and their Estates confiscated to the Triumvirs. These *Three*

Tyrants sat openly in the *Forum*, reviewing the disfigured Heads of their Friends and Fellow-Citizens newly severed from their Bodies, and paying the Price to the Murderers; while the *curfed Fulvia* feasted her eyes *at home*, and satiated her Spight in dictating the most detested Acts of Cruelty. When weary of the *Forum*, her Spouse *Antony* retired to Dinner, and, amidst the most sumptuous and exquisite Luxury, contemplated the Scalps brought in by his Blood-hounds, the Centurions: After leisurely considering one of the Faces, *this Man*, said he carelessly, *was not of my Acquaintance*: for private Malice, taking Opportunity of a savage Government that made Murder meritorious, prompted secret Enemies to destroy one another; so that the Streets and Courts were filled with promiscuous Carcases; and the *priceless Head* remaining on the Trunk was the sole Distinction between the *Triumvir's* Stab and a private Assassination.

A Detail of all the monstrous Things committed at this Time, could only please a Mind delighted with Recitals of Horror, and Pictures of intense Misery: Some surprising Adventures and miraculous Escapes will naturally come in under the *Characters* of a few great Men who were able to reach either *Brutus's* Camp, or get over to *Sicily* to the young *Pompey*. I will therefore draw a Veil over the deplorable Exits of the noblest Romans, that move alternate Sorrow, and unavailing Indignation, in Order to draw a Conclusion worthy of every Briton's Consideration.

This Catastrophe of once triumphant *Rome*, this Scene of unutterable Woe, was brought upon the Queen of Nations, by Vice, Corruption, and Immorality. *These*, the most ambitious Profligate that ever was born, Julius Cæsar, seized as Handles to get into Power, to debauch the Army, overturn the Laws, and set up a Tyranny under the Name of *Perpetual Dictator*: and by *these*, his Lieutenant-General *Antony*, his Master of Horse *Lepidus*, and adopted Son *Octavius*, were enabled to re-assemble his corrupt Armies, and to execute the dismal Legacy of Rapine, Murder and Desolation he had prepared for degenerate *Rome*.

Britons beware! think what you are doing! The Man that foregoes Virtue for Wealth, that sacrifices *public Spirit* to *private Pleasure*, is forging Fetters for himself and his Posterity. *Luxury* and *Immorality* arrived at a certain Pitch, infallibly entail lawless Power and abject Slavery. Vice is a tame, humble, crouching Thing; and Virtue, *real* Virtue, the most undaunted and exalting Principle in the human Breast. Let us open our Eyes upon the Fate of an Empire far mightier than we, nor flatter ourselves that *We* can be at once a *vicious*, and a *free* People. Virtue is the *sole Guardian* of the dearest and most precious Treasure of the human Race, of glorious Liberty, the vital Principle of a happy Nation: But this her *Guardian* once gone, and the foul detested *Spectres* of Prostitution, Debauchery and Cowardice, come in her Place, the Goddess instantly takes Wing, and abhors the *fiend-haunted* Habitation. What though we have

the best of Governments, and that Government in the best of Hands at present? What though we have the noblest Prospect in the *Royal Race* for the future? — *it may not be always so*: and whenever the Struggle is renewed, as we have too often seen it in *Britain*, the Morals of the People must and will decide the Victory. If *thy* are sound, the *Constitution* is safe; if *they* are thoroughly corrupted, *public Ruin* is at Hand. For he who indulges in Riot and Profusion is *renouncing his Freedom*; and he who breeds up his Son in enervating Luxury², is actually *preparing him for a Slave*. All-conquering Rome had never tasted the *Triumvirs* Scourge, had not her *Tribes* turned *immoral, venal, and so profligate*, as to prefer *Vatinius*, a Wretch black with Crimes, to the god-like Man, the *Honor of the Human Race*, M. Portius Cato. Nor have *We* in *Britain* any Title to exemption from the universal Law, *that the better must command the worse*; that the *vicious* must be *Slaves*, and the *virtuous Free*: the same Causes must and will produce the same Effects, through all the *Empire of Morals*: and whenever our Manners are wholly depraved, when we turn *irreligious* towards God, and *unjust* towards Men, when we sink in Sloth, and plunge in Immorality, then London, now the Pride of *Europe*, the Centre of *Commerce*, the Fountain of *Law*, and Seat of *Learning*, because the Sanctuary of Liberty, as all the flourishing Towns of Great-

² Μη μωρο τα μαλακα, μη τα σκληρα εχης.

- Επιχαριμ. παρ' ε. Ξενοφ.

Britain, after its Example, must lay their Account with falling a Prey to Ruffians, and being made Scenes of Horror and Desolation, like ancient Rome, under the *Triumphirs*.

It is not worth while to relate the Steps they took to give a *Color of Law* to their Usurpation; nor how the Tribune Titius proposed a mock Statue, to vest their Violence with the Forms of Justice. The Attempt was an additional Insult offered to Men's Understandings then, and appears ridiculous now. For the glaring Iniquity and horrible Cruelty with which they massacred rich Men of *all Parties* and *Denominations*, for the sake of Houses, Lands, Wives, Daughters, or even of a curious *Jewel*^{*} coveted by the Triumvirs, showed their Invasion of the Government to be a *total Extinction of Right*, a *Subversion of all Law and Equity*, and the *last Effort of divested Humanity*.

But among the many dreadful Sight to be seen in every Corner of unhappy *Rome*, and over all lacerated *Italy*, no one shocked the *Romans* so much as the Head and Hands of their *Patriot*, M. Tullius Cicero, nailed up a Spectacle of Horror in the *Rostrum*. The Life of that great and illustrious

^{*} Nonius Asprenas, a Senator, thought himself safe, as having staid to carry nothing away but his Ring, in which was set a celebrated Seal, valued at more than L. 16,000. Antony enraged that he had dared to carry off the Jewel, ordered so strict a Search to be made for him, that the Senator's *Head* and the fatal *Ring* were brought to him together.

Consul had been one continued Series of Services, to the Public. He had saved Rome, the Senate, and the Common-wealth twice from Massacre and Destruction; and the Sweetness of his Temper in private Life, the Innocence and Elegance of his Manners, as well as the Splendor of his Eloquence, and Extent of his Learning, had made him the Delight and Admiration of all who approached him: and now in his old Days, the taking off his venerable Head, crowned with recent Glory, redoubled the Bitterness of every Man's private Misery. It made the Usurpers inexpressibly odious: his *Worth* was so approved, and a sincere Love to his Country so conspicuous in all his Conduct, that the lowest and most abject of the *Roman* Writers *, even after they were long inured to Tyranny, have still detested the execrable Deed.

* Par scelus admisit Phariis Antonius armis :
 Abscidit vultus ensis uterque sacros.
 Illud, laurigeros ageres cum læta triumphos;
 Hoc tibi, Roma, caput, cum loquereris, erat.
 Antoni tamen est peior, quam causa Pothini :
 Hic facinus Domino præstitit, ille sibi.

Val. Martial. Lib. III. Ep. 66.

Antoni phario nil obiecture Pothino,
 Et levius *Tabulâ*, quam *Cicerone* nocens :
 Quid gladium demens Romana stringis in ora?
 Hoc admisisset nec *Catilina* nefas.
 Impius infando miles corrumpitur auro :
 Et tantis opibus vox tacet una tibi.
 Quid profunt sacræ pretiosa silentia linguæ?
 Incipient omnes pro *Cicerone* loqui.

Idem, Lib. V. Ep. 69.

Upon the Approach of the Triumvirs to Town, being perfectly aware what the *Patron of Liberty* had to expect from these new *Masters*, and what *himself* had to expect from *Antony*, he had retired to the nearest of his Country-seats, *Tusculum* ⁵, the Scene of some of those *philosophical Dialogues* that have contributed to immortalize his Name. Thence he went down to *Astura* upon the Coast, and took shipping, to pass over to *Sextus Pompey*, who had the Command of Sicily, a Country under the highest Obligations to Cicero; as indeed he could scarce visit a *Province of the Empire*, where his good Deeds or good Name would not have procured him a welcome. He stood out to Sea two or three Times; but the Wind proving contrary, and the Waves running high, he was not able to bear the rolling of the Ship, and landed at the Point *Cicello* ⁶ to refresh himself. Here he passed a sleepless Night, between Anguish for Rome, and Uncertainty what Course to steer; to *Macedon* or *Sicily*. The Memory of the many Displeasures he had received, and the Torture of Mind he had endured in the *last civil War*, made him think *Death* preferable to a *Campaign* at his Years. But his Servants prevailed with him to go once more on Board, and sail at least to Cape *Gaëta*. He did so; and the Weather nothing relenting, he went up to his own *Formian Villa*,

⁵ Now a Nest of Monks, called *Grotta Ferrata*, the Iron Grotto.

⁶ *Circeium Promontorium*.

with the fatal Resolution of dying in the Country he had often saved from Ruin.

In the happier Days of the Republic, one *Popilius Lenas*, a Legionary Soldier, accused of a capital Crime, and thought in imminent Danger of Condemnation, had been earnestly recommended by *M. Cælius* to the Protection of Cicero; who managed the dubious Cause with such Address and Eloquence, that he rescued the trembling Criminal, and sent him safe home to his Friends and Family. This very Man, either from Greed of the great Price set by *Antony* upon Cicero's Head⁷, or to ingratiate himself with the *Triumvirs*, went to them of his own Accord, and obtained a special Commission to murder his Benefactor. He came now on the Tract, and was approaching with the Troopers to the *Formian Villa*, when *Cicero's* Servants, with Tears and Entreaties, forced him into a Chair, to carry him down through the Woods, and By-ways to the Shore; and being all armed when the Ruffians overtook them, they ranged themselves round the Sedan, resolute to die in their Master's Defence. But he commanded them to set him down, and submit to the Necessity of Fate. Then putting aside the Curtain, as the Assassins drew nigh, *Come forward*, said he, old Soldier! *here I wait you; and if ever you did any thing right⁸ in your Life, do it now,*

⁷ Upwards of L. 8000.

⁸ Many great Men, Martyrs of Liberty, have shown a serene Mind, by a Touch of Pleasantry at their Death; such as *Theramenes*, *Thraseas Pætus*, *Anne du Bourg*, *Sir Thomas More*, *Algernon Sidney*, &c.

when you strike off my Head. The venerable Appearance of the *aged Consul*, and the grave Intrepidity with which he spoke, confounded the Villain; he looked wild, — hesitated — and fell a trembling: when Cicero, with a Smile, *Why, what would you have done*, said he, *if I had been the first Man you had come to murder?* Then stooping forward from his Seat, and steadily holding forth his Neck, he received the unworthy Blow that severed his Head from his Body.

Thus fell M. T. Cicero, born for the Good of Mankind, and for the Glory and Preservation of the *Roman State*. He had reached his sixtieth-and-third Year; and from the memorable Time he had entered upon Business, and defended an innocent Youth circumvented by Sylla's Minion, *Chrysogonus*, that Day had seldom shone upon him, in which some *State*, some *City*, some *Family* had not been praying for his Health and Prosperity. His Countenance was graceful, and his Health, through Temperance and Exercise, unbroken even to old Age. He had been *fortunate* in falling in *peaceful Times*, when his Humanity, Learning, and Eloquence first raised him to the highest Stations, and then enabled him to fill them with Lustre and Dignity. The *Manners* of the *Romans* were then greatly *depraved*, and the Citizens had lost their pristine Innocence: many Crimes were committed by the Men in Power, which produced many *capital Causes*, and afforded him great Opportunities, fitted to his Talents, to lay the rescued Criminals under the Obligation of Life

and Liberty to their Patron. These Opportunities were so many, and so important, that, conspiring with his natural Delicacy, they early drew him from the *rougher Exercises* of a martial Roman: But in every other Respect, his *Genius* and *Capacity* — his *Application* and *Taste* admit of no common Epithets. They are above being called *great*, or *eminent*, by being consecrated as *the Objects of the World's Admiration* in those Works that will only perish with it: For Cicero when alive, was the Refuge of the Unhappy, the Terror of Traitors, the Prince of the Senate, the Preserver of *Rome*; and now when dead, his Works are still the Delight of the Learned, the Instructor of the Wise, the Patterns of Elegance, whose various Merit would require such an Eloquence as his own *to do it Justice*.

The Ruffian, *Popilius* cut off his Hands as well as his Head, and carrying them to *Rome*, he found the *Triumvirs* sitting at their bloody Recognisance, surrounded with such a Crowd as prevented his getting nigh them: But upon calling out the Name of Cicero, and holding up the mangled Head, *Antony* immediately commanded Way to be made for him. He had the Barbarity openly to handle and insult the Remains of the illustrious *Roman*, and then sent them home as a precious Present to his Wife *Fulvia*. She set the Head upon her Knees, and with unseemly Words and Gestures, pulling out the Tongue with her own Hand, run it through and through with her Bodkin; after which, as we said, she ordered it

to be nailed up between the Hands in the *Rostra*, a Sight of Horror and Execration to the *Roman People*.

By such Sights and Sufferings the noble and undaunted Spirit of that glorious Nation was utterly crushed, and Liberty took her final Flight from Rome, never to visit it more. Her remaining Inhabitants henceforward degenerated by Degrees; those of the greatest and truly *Roman Spirit* had been murdered in the *Field* by Julius Cæsar; the Rest were now massacred in the City by his Son and Successors: in *their* Room came *Syrians, Cappadocians, Phrygians*, and other enfranchised Slaves¹, from the conquered Nations, who in half a Century had sunk so low, that *Tiberius* pronounced her very *Senators* to be *homines ad servitutem natos*², *Men born to be Slaves*. For Liberty is the *Life and Soul* of a Nation: while actuated by it, they exert the Vigor of a healthy Man, directed by Duty and Honor: when it is gone, and Slavery settled in its Place — when the lawless Will³ of a Tyrant becomes the moving Principle, the State turns like one of these *Carcasses*³,

Vivant *Galatæque Syrique*
Cappadoces, Gallique, extremique orbis *Iberi*,
Armenii, Cilices : nam post civilia bella
Hic Populus Romanus erit —

Lucan. Lib. VII.

¹ Tacitus.

² Car tel est notre Plaisir.

³ Vroucolacas: on ne crioit que Vroucolacas dans la chapelle, & la place qui est audevant.

M. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, Lettre III.

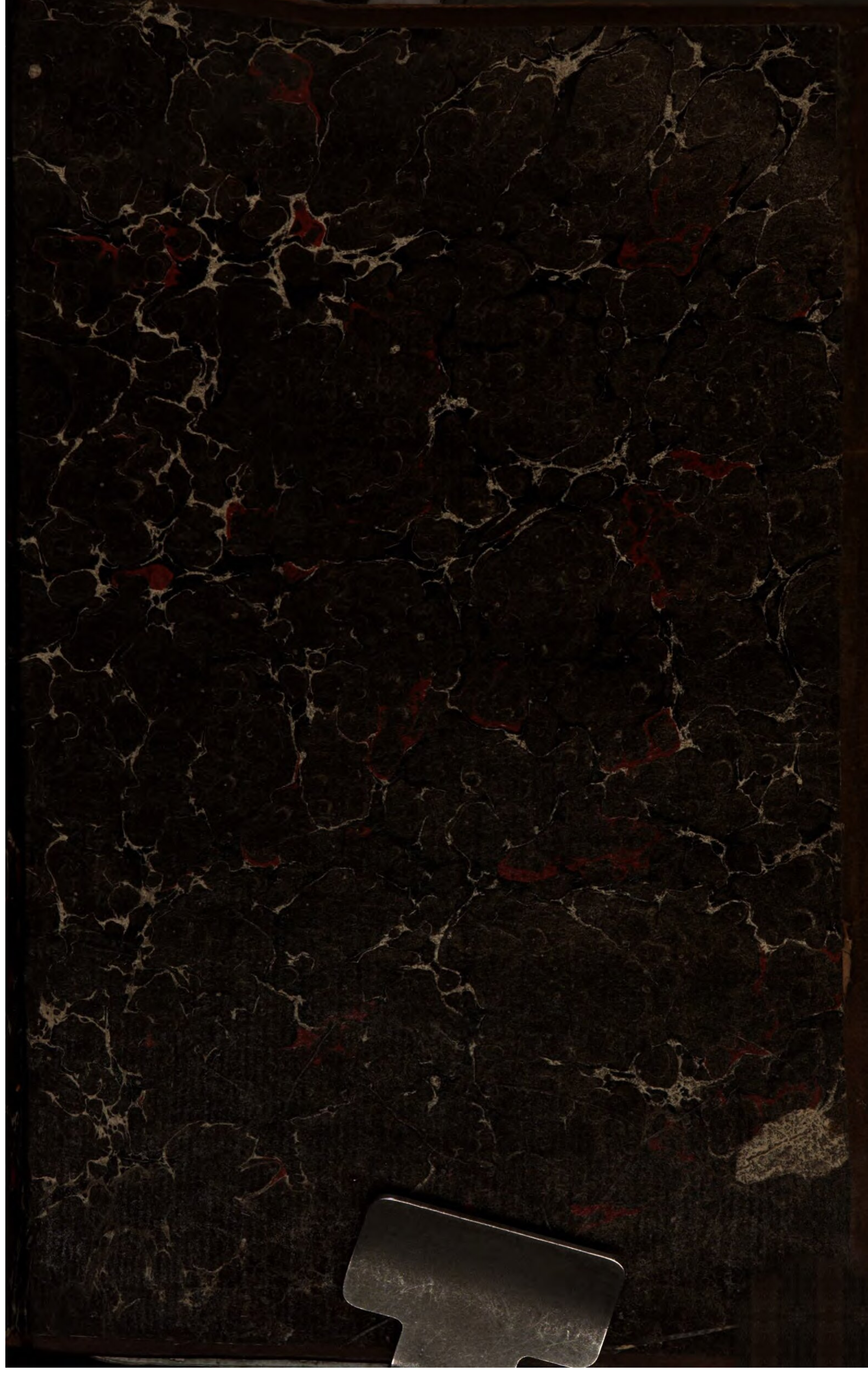
which the Credulity of the *Eastern Church* believes to be taken up, and animated by the Devil, in Order to do mischief to all its Neighbours.

Let us therefore turn our Eyes from the tremendous Spectacle of the Mistress of the World, trampled upon by three bloody Tyrants, and follow the flying Goddess to her last Refuge, the Camps of her Champions *Cassius* and *Brutus*; after having observed, that in the Life of the Man whose Name these Memoirs bear, there are *three* very different Periods. The *first* from his early entering upon Business, at his Return from *Apollonia*, until the Victory at *Modena*; during which, under the direction of *Cicero*, he acted the *Roman* and the *Patriot*. The *second* from his extorted Consulship, until the Defeat of *Antony* at *Actium*, when he played the *Tyrant* and the *Triumvir*: and the *third*, from the Conquest of *Egypt* to the *End of his Life*, when he became first the *Prince*, and then the *Parent* of his Country and People. The first Period lasted little more than *a Year*; the second almost *twelve*; and the last and best no less than *four-and-forty*; for the sake of which it is, that the former two have found a Place in these Memoirs.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.









Blackwell, Thomas,

Memoirs of the court of Augustus

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